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East Europe

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Stoltenberg Departs for Zagreb, Says Progress Made

AU0408122895 Paris AFP in English 1154 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 4 (AFP)—UN mediator for the former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg left Geneva on Friday for Zagreb despite the Croatian army offensive in Serb-held Croatia, a UN spokeswoman said.

Although peace talks he was mediating Thursday between the Croatians and the Croatian Serbs were inconclusive, Stoltenberg insisted progress had been made.

He told journalists on Thursday evening he would pursue the negotiations in the Croatian capital, before travelling to Knin, the Croatian Serb stronghold shelled Friday by Croatian artillery, and possibly to the Serbian capital Belgrade.

Holds Talks in Belgrade, Zagreb

AU0408195695 Paris AFP in English 1926 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 4 (AFP)—UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg was in Belgrade and Zagreb on Friday [4 August] to see the leaders of warring sides in Croatia, which launched a dawn offensive to retake the one-fifth of the nation controlled by Serbs.

Stoltenberg met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and a Croatian Serb leader, Milan Babic, while in Belgrade, according to a statement from the international conference on the ex-Yugoslavia.

He then travelled to Zagreb, where he had wanted to meet with Hrjove Sarinic, the chief of staff of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

But Stoltenberg was able to meet with Yasushi Akashi, the UN special envoy for the ex-Yugoslavia, and the U.S. envoy to Croatia, Peter Galbraith.

On Thursday, Stoltenberg presided over what he called "last chance" meetings between Croatians and separatist Serbs in the Krajina region.

Croatian negotiators said no progress had been made at the talks, even though the Serbs had agreed to a seven-point plan put on the table that would have accepted some domination by Zagreb.

TANJUG: U.S. Giving 'Direct Support' to Croatia

LD0408225595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2247 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, August 4 (TANJUG)—U.S. President Bill Clinton called a meeting of his top foreign policy aides on Friday to discuss the aftermath of the latest Croatian aggression on Serb Krajina.

Contrary to its European allies, the United States has not condemned the Croatian invasion nor has it called Croatia to halt its aggression.

Instead of an explicit condemnation, the U.S. has even given a direct support and showed understanding for the aggression.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry told reporters that Clinton invited all sides to show maximal restraint as regards security of civilians, U.N. personnel and prisoners.

He quoted Clinton as saying that the Croatian attack had been provoked by the Krajina Serb action in the Bihac pocket, in northwestern Bosnia.

It is indicative that neither Clinton nor any of his top aides has condemned the Croatian fierce shelling of civilian targets in Knin.

Akashi Urges Croatia, Krajina Serbs To Negotiate

AU0408130495 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 4 (AFP)—The UN special envoy to former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, urged Croatia and breakaway Croatian Serbs to return to the negotiating table Friday, as fighting raged in the Serb-controlled Krajina region.

Akashi told a news conference here he profoundly regretted the escalation of hostilities in the region, describing it as a "serious setback."

"Serious diplomatic efforts were underway," he said, referring to Thursday's talks in Geneva between the two sides aimed at avoiding conflict.

UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg, who left Geneva for Zagreb, said the sides had come close to an agreement, although a Croatian negotiator insisted that no progress had been made.

"It's still not too late to find a peaceful resolution of the conflict," Akashi said.

He was due to meet later Friday with Stoltenberg and Hrvoje Sarinic, a representative of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman with responsibilty for Krajina.

Akashi added that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, in telephone call to Tudjman, had expressed "great concern" over the fighting. The United Nations was told at 3:20 a.m. (0120 GMT) that the Croatians

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would launch their offensive against the Krajina Serbs at 5 a.m. (0300 GMT), Akashi added.

Bildt Condemns Croat Offensive, Blames Tudjman

AU0408140995 Paris AFP in English
1343 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 4 (AFP)—European Union mediator Carl Bildt condemned Friday [4 August] the Croatian offensive against breakaway Krajina Serbs, and suggested that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman could be prosecuted for war crimes.

Bildt recalled that the leader of the breakaway Krajina Serbs, Milan Martic, had been indicted for war crimes by an international court based in The Hague.

"It should be remembered that Mr. Martic had been indicted for war crimes following the Serb rocket attack in Zagreb in May," he said.

"It is difficult to see any difference between these actions and the shelling of Knin which President Tudjman must now be held responsible for."

Bildt said "especially appalling is the shelling of the civilian population now being reported."

The United Nations reported that Knin was ablaze following intense shelling by Croatian forces as they sought to recapture territory held by the Serbs since 1991, and the Croatian Army was within two kilometers (one mile) by midday Friday.

"The Croat offensive against its Serb-populated area must be condemned in the sharpest possible terms," Bildt said. "It will cast a dark shadow over Croatia for a long time to come."

"Europe must now be prepared for a new humanitarian tragedy with the problem of tens of thousands of Serbs forced to flee their homes," he said.

Bildt joined the European powers in condemning Zagreb's apparent unwillingness to compromise at negotiations between the two sides in Geneva on Thursday.

"This (offensive) comes immediately after the start of negotiations, and with clear signs of Serb willingness to make substantial concessions on both economic and political issues," he said.

Tribunal Urges UN States To Arrest Serb Leaders

AU0408142695 Paris AFP in English
1359 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Aug 4 (AFP)—The international tribunal set up to try alleged war criminals in ex-Yugoslavia has called on UN member states to help capture Bosnian Serb and secessionist Serb leaders, according to a statement issued Friday.

"Each state is requested to transmit to the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal...any information it may possess concerning the location of Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and Milan Martic including their travel beyond the borders of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina or the Republic of Croatia," the statement said referring to the two Bosnian Serb leaders and the "president" of the self-declared Krajina Serb republic.

All three have been charged with war crimes.

The statement said that the request was sent to all permanent missions of the United Nations and to Switzerland, where peace talks on the war in ex-Yugoslavia have traditionally been held.

On July 25, the tribunal issued arrest warrants against the three Serb leaders and sent them to Pale, Sarajevo, Belgrade and Knin.

A spokesman for the tribunal said the warrants were valid in all four regions, but that did not prevent countries with legislation outlawing war crimes to arrest the suspects.

The tribunal has detained only one of the 46 people it has charged to date—Dusko Tadic, a Bosnian Serb arrested in Germany in February 1994.

His trial is not due to begin until October at the earliest.

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OSCE Head on Conference on Former Yugoslavia

LD0408123395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1022 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Hungarian foreign minister who presides currently the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] Laszlo Kovacs confirmed that preparations were under way for a possible new conference on Former Yugoslavia in Budapest, as initiated by Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn.

Kovacs Thursday evening specified on Hungarian TV that discussions on the meeting's agenda have begun. The conference was to be attended, apart from the host country, by top officials from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the E.U. 'Troika,' the U.S. and Russia.

Prominent Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG described the situation in the two former Yugoslav republics—Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia—as hopeless and blamed the international community for being responsible for recognizing them.

The paper said that the international community has recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent state when there was no one that would accept the Muslim Sarajevo government thesis that an outside aggression had been committed against this state.

'Bosnian Serbs could not commit aggression against themselves, so that the stand must be accepted that there is a civil war at work in which it is impossible for someone from the outside, the U.N. or NATO to impose peace by siding with one party to the conflict,' the paper wrote.

The Bosnian Serbs make up 33 percent of the population of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Balkan News Agencies To Exchange Information

LD0508161795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1449 GMT 5 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ankara, Aug. 5 (TANJUG)—News agencies of Balkan countries ended their conference in Ankara on Saturday with an agreement to step up the setting up of a joint computer center for the exchange of information.

A representative of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG took part in the meeting, as the only member from Yugoslavia of the Association of Balkan News Agencies (ABNA).

In this phase, the coordinator of the project is the Macedonian News Agency (MPA) of Thesaloniki and the current chairman is the Turkish news agency Anadolia (AA).

The European Union has promised financial assistance for the project on the modern linking of Balkan news agencies.

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Berisha Reproves UN for Failing To Keep Peace

LD0608083595 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1600 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian president, Sali Berisha, criticized the unwillingness of the United Nations and the international community to establish the peace in the Balkan region. Commenting upon the Croatian offensive against the Serb aggressors, Berisha said the escalation of the conflict in the north of the Balkans testifies to a lack of determination by the United Nations organization and the international community to fulfill their obligations, a very dangerous and irreversible consequences [as heard] for the peace (?and stability) in the Balkan region and the whole of Europe.

The recent offensive of the Croatian troops against the Serb aggressor is an outcome of some factors that constitute an immediate threat to the serenity, territorial integrity, and the independence of Croatia. The Serb concentrations and the assault against Dubrovnik testify to the [word indistinct] of the Serb obsession to have a way through Croatian territories by occupying them to [word indistinct]. In fact, the assault on Dubrovnik is the cause of the Croatian offensive. The Croatian president and Croatia seem to be disappointed by the no respecting of the Security Council resolution by the United Nations organization, which was approved after the Croatian Government made a compromise concerning the mandate and nomination of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] troops on its territory. [passage indistinct]

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BSP Official Assesses National Conference

AU0408165895 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 31 Jul 95 p 9

[Interview with Georgi Purvanov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, by Todor Tokin; place and date not given: "BSP Keeps Some of the Powerful Economic Groups at a Distance"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tokin] Despite the numerous statements made last year that the debate was closed on the kind of party the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is, during the conference, the dispute broke out again with full force—it was said that the BSP is the party of the poor, but not exclusively for them, and reference was also made to the difference between the Red little, old ladies and the Red executives with their mobile telephones....

[Purvanov] By and large, this is a simplistic view of the party's nature, because in the European left, this issue was resolved long ago; the same is true of allied parties, such as the Italian democratic left. These are parties that have a national image, and it is no accident that the BSP has borrowed this premise from its Western partners. In practice, the BSP has been developing as a party for five years now, defending the interests of a very wide range of social strata, to varying degrees of course. It naturally gives priority to defending the interests of the socially disadvantaged sections of the population, but it cannot in any way be said that it opposes national production and national capital, because, when it comes to choosing between foreign and Bulgarian capital, I am sure that no Bulgarian patriot will have any hesitation.

[Tokin] Do you people in the BSP now have a clear understanding of the meaning of the term "national capital"?

[Purvanov] This issue raises many questions, and not just for the BSP. It is evident that from now on we will discuss it and seek to establish the criteria for this concept. However, in any case, the BSP is already adopting a line purely by intuition; while keeping some of the powerful economic groups at a distance, it is, generally speaking, adopting a principled and justified position regarding national Bulgarian capital. [passage omitted]

[Tokin] As one of the authors of the BSP program that was adopted by an all-party referendum last year, do you consider that if requires revision now that you have been in power for six months? Voices have been heard suggesting this....

[Purvanov] Absolutely not. It sounds crazy, and I for one do not know of a party in the world that has set about revising a long-term document six months after adopting it. However, what we are now hearing from the extreme left "Marxist Platform" appears, in my view, to be aimed precisely at this. It does not surprise me that some of the people who voted for this program and who even were among its authors, including the platform's leader Mincho Minchev, can raise questions that the BSP has already decided, if not for all time, at least for a long period in the future. It is quite another matter—and the party chairman mentioned this in his report—that at the moment, we need to translate these long-term ideas into an understandable language of government. This is precisely what we lack at present, and this void must be filled.

[Tokin] In his report, the BSP chairman spoke about the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] in the past tense, and singled out the president, the Constitutional Court, and the judicial system as the BSP's principlal opponents....

[Purvanov] The report and the ensuing discussion clearly revealed the positions held by our opponents who stand on the other side of the barricades, purely nominally, of course, and who use the state institutions mainly, if not exclusively, to create problems for the BSP. I consider that it is not very ambitious on their part to limit their public and social functions to such an approach. At any rate, while retaining a constructive stance toward the institutions, the BSP will probably initiate a polemical debate on the possible need to restore the health of these institutions by amendments to the Constitution.

[Tokin] Quite a number of figures from the recent past attended the conference, such as Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Dobri Dzhurov, Peko Takov, Angel Tsanev, General Semerdzhiev, and so on.

[Purvanov] There were no more of them than at other forums. These are people who cannot be precisely identified with the distorted policies followed prior to 1989. One should bear in mind that such figures, former politicians, now play no determining role in the BSP. Their presence probably personifies our connection with the past. You know that we accept the past in its entirety, with all its negative and positive aspects. I do not believe that their presence can inspire any thoughts about recommunization or a turning back. Quite the contrary, for as you may have noticed, the younger generation was dominant in the hall, they dictated the discussions at the microphones. I have no serious worries about the BSP's political elite. The question whether the BSP is growing old is something else again, but this applies to all the traditional parties in Bulgaria.

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SDS's Bozhkov Attacks Economic Record of BSP

AU0408212195 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 2 Aug 95 p 1

[DEMOKRATSIYA staff report: "Government Claims Imaginary Achievements"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—In his report to the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] national conference [on 28 July], Zhan Videnov devoted two sentences to the structural reform, both of them in the future tense. This was noted by Aleksandur Bozhkov, deputy chairman of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Coordinating Council, in his analysis of the loudly advertised party forum. As far as privatization is concerned, Bozhkov continued, the conference did not dare publicize the figures on its progress since the beginning of the year, because they are enough to drive one to despair. Of the 845 deals concluded since 1992, with which the prime minister tried to decorate his report, his own government is responsible for only 80, most of them relating to small stores and units detached from larger concerns. Since the start of the year, not a single big privatization deal has been completed and in no case has there been any major foreign participation.

Videnov's boast of reducing the unemployment figure by 90,000 is yet another manipulation, Bozhkov explained, because the decrease is mainly the result of people leaving the unemployment register when their period for receiving unemployment benefits had expired, after which the government ceases to record them as unemployed. The immense pride that the cabinet took in increasing pensions by 20 percent compared with 1994 glosses over the fact that inflation was 120 percent during the same period.

"The taking of measures" to stabilize the state-owned commercial banks, with which Videnov attempted to reassure the party conference, is limited to transferring the chiefs of the United Bulgarian Bank—one of the banks in the greatest difficulties—into the government so that they can finally ruin the other banks in the same way as they managed to do with their own, Bozhkov predicted.

According to the SDS deputy chairman, the clearest evidence of the BSP's schizophrenic condition is provided by the section of Videnov's report that deals with "national capital." The contents of this section reveal the cabinet's desire to really govern, but also cannot conceal the government's complete inability to cope with the financial groups, sham insurance companies, and security firms that have sprung up out of communist circles. The only result visible is that at present the BSP groups win every dispute, while the government—also belonging to the BSP—always ends up on the losing side, Bozhkov noted in conclusion.

Commentary on Opposition to Privatization in BSP

AU0608092795 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 31 Jul 95 p 6

[Commentary by Nikola Kolev: "Antiprivatization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has emerged from media reports that, at the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] national conference that ended two days ago, quite a number of influential delegates urged that privatization be suspended. This made it necessary for the prime minister, in his statement on the Panorama Program of Bulgarian National Television [on 29 August], to attempt to explain tactfully that there can be no question of stopping a process that lies at the foundation of his government program.

On the same day, Polish President Lech Walesa stated that he will apply to the Constitutional Tribunal regarding a law of the left-wing government that, in his view, will block privatization and hand over the control of key sectors of the economy to government proteges, instead of privatizing the companies within a prescribed period.

This situation is amazingly similar to the latest actions of the Bulgarian Government, which persistently continues to appoint the same old faces as members of the boards of directors and supervisory boards of large enterprises and state banks. No doubt these people do have their business qualities, but we are, nevertheless, talking about persons who have never worked as experts in the fields in which they have been appointed.

Thus, despite the assurances, it is quite possible that the feelings of opposition to privatization will intensify, especially in relation to cash privatization. During the last five years, privatization has become a kind of dirty word in many East European countries, and it appears that our rulers are still unable, or do not wish, to give the process the transparency and attractiveness that it needs.

Military Council Adopts Program Until 1998

AU0408212095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the Supreme Military Council held a meeting chaired by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov. At the meeting, General Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and deputy defense ministers submitted reports on the plan to relocate officers in the army structures. The transfers of the officers will be effected strictly in conformance with the law and army regulations. Officers that have

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demonstrated the best results in their work to date and possessing the necessary educational qualifications will be nominated for the higher and more responsible posts.

The Supreme Military Council made a decision on appointments to the Inspectorate recently formed at the Defense Ministry. The Inspectorate's principal management staff will be appointed by presidential decree, on the basis of a report submitted by Defense Minister Pavlov and with the permission of the Council of Ministers, and the names of the leading staff members will be made known at this time.

An important item on the council's agenda today was the adoption of the Defense Ministry's program for the period until 1998.

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Defense Ministry Statement on Troops in Croatia

LD0508135895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Czech Defense Ministry is continuously monitoring the situation in the threatened areas. Ministry spokesman (Ales Dolezal) gave the ministry's official statement to Czech radio.

[Begin (Dolezal) recording] The offensive of the regular Croatian Army is continuing in the area where the Czech battalion is stationed. Military actions are currently underway in the immediate neighborhood of the Czech positions.

During the morning fights, one shelter at an observation post received a direct hit. All casualties were medically treated to the extent the situation would allow. [end recording]

Apart from the injuries caused by the intentional shelling of the UN observation post, the Croatian soldiers have taken 200 UN troops hostage.

Foreign Minister: Military Action Premature

LD0608170595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today took a stand on the situation in Croatia.

[Begin Zieleniec recording] We kept stressing that we support Croatia's reintegration through political means. In our view, the military action taken by the Croatian Government is premature, as not all means introduced by the international community in order to reintegrate Croatia have been made use of.

On the other hand, we are aware of the fact that this action is an action taken by a government within a sovereign state. From this viewpoint it is important to differentiate between what is happening now in Croatia and in other parts of the former Yugoslavia. [end recording]

'Exclusive' Interview With President on Croatia

LD0508180495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 5 Aug 95

["Exclusive" interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Eva Hulkova in Prague on 5 August—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hulkova] Mr. President, as people often ask who is good and who is bad in this conflict, I believe it is relevant to ask how we will judge the latest Croatian offensive.

[Havel] Although nobody is pleased by this offensive, and although we are aware that this is not the way to resolve conflicts between several nations within a country—as such offensives put civilians under threat—we still cannot tar all warriors with the same brush.

Croatia's status is somewhat different from that of the Serbs in Bosnia or even from the position of Serbs in Krajina. After all, Croatia is an internationally recognized country within certain borders. It is a country that, for a long time, has given the international community an opportunity to settle or mediate the conflict with the rebel Krajina Serbs through political negotiations. The international community has not achieved this, and so Croatia has chosen this offensive to renew the integrity of its state. It is sad; it is regrettable but it is different from what the wild Karadzic's army is doing. I think it is important to differentiate between these two matters.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, I still think the Croatian shelling of the UN observation posts is rather unethical—that is, if we can use these words when talking about war.

[Havel] Today I invited officials from the Defense Ministry and the Foreign Affairs Ministry who are monitoring the situation. We discussed the matters for a long time and very thoroughly. I asked them to explain the situation to me. I had a telephone conversation with Lieutenant Blahma, the deputy commander of the UN troops in the Southern Sector in Croatia.

As I understand the information given to me, it is rather regretful that the UN soldiers have been threatened, as some of them—with respect to their duties—should not be threatened by any army fighting in the area. Unfortunately, the situation in the separation zones is so complex that the bullets cannot always miss them even if the [local] soldiers act in their best will—which I am not saying they are—and have no intention of attacking [UN soldiers], particularly in the situation when the Serbs often use the UN soldiers from the observation posts for their own protection. Some of the observation posts are finding themselves in a heavy cross fire. That is why the commander ordered everybody to go to the shelters.

The situation has improved a little bit by now. The fighting is no longer taking place in the separation zone. It has moved further. I am not saying that all of our soldiers are safe now, but most of them are not threatened immediately.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, the Czech Republic has its first dead in this conflict, to be precise in the conflict of these last few days. Even more than before, people will

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question the meaning of our mission in this part of the world.

[Havel] Of course, that is the main reason why I contacted Lt. Blahma. I wanted to know all the details about the deaths of our soldiers. I would like to take this opportunity to express my sympathy to their families. I would also like to ensure these families and the rest of the nation that these soldiers lost their lives fighting for peace. They undertook the shared responsibility for the situation on our continent. They are victims who lost their lives for the right side of the fight, not victims of an unfortunate accident. We should remember them as heroes.

I was also informed that despite the difficult situation in the area, our troops are calm and brave, and they are highly appreciated by the supreme command of the UN force.

I think the UN mission is important. The international community simply cannot give up on this conflict. The mission is insufficient; the mandate of these troops must be strengthened; there must be a stronger possibility of the operational deployment of NATO if necessary.

As you know, for some time I have held the view that sometimes evil has to be met with force. It cannot be met otherwise—and it has to be faced in the early stages, before it is too late and before it claims vast numbers of victims.

I would like to believe that the Croatian side and President Tudjman will respect the status of UN troops during this operation and afterward. Primarily and most importantly, I would like to believe that the practices that are, alas, so common in the former Yugoslavia—that is, victimizing civilians, ethnic cleansing and other atrocities—will not be repeated.

According to my information, Czech diplomacy is working toward it. Our ambassador in Croatia today visited Croatian authorities and presented them with this positioon of the Czech Republic.

Radar Export Destinations Remain 'Trade Secret'

AU0508112995 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "Omnipol Conceals Precisely Where It Exported Radars"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Omnipol trading company, which until 1989 was the exclusive exporter of the Tamara passive radar system and its predecessor Ramona, is keeping silent regarding the precise destination of its sales of these reconnaissance systems in the past.

This attitude of the firm makes it much more difficult to determine the veracity of the suspicion that one Czech reconnaissance radar currently operates in the area of the war conflict on the territory of Bosnia.

Omnipol deputy director general Frantisek Kurka stated yesterday that the company has never exported the radar to the former Yugoslavia, but this does not really help much in the entire affair. Namely, if the suspicions voiced by NATO officers and some media regarding the use of Tamara in Bosnia are true, this strategic military equipment would have come to the embargoed region of the former Yugoslavia via illegal transport from another country.

According to Trade and Industry Ministry data, 15 Tamaras and 30 Ramonas were exported to countries of the former Soviet Union, and the then Czechoslovakia also exported one Tamara and one Ramona to the former GDR. There are four sets of older Ramona in Syria, and one Tamara was exported to Oman.

The speculations regarding the possible importer of the radar to the warring Bosnia are directed precisely at the states of the disintegrated Soviet empire. Fifteen republics emerged from the former USSR. To determine which one of them is using the Tamaras and Ramonas now is almost impossible.

Omnipol defends its silence by the fact that all these export contracts have included a rider specifying the confidential nature of the information, and by the arrangements for these transactions having been prepared by its legal predecessor, the Main Technical Administration of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Trade. "You will certainly understand that the trustworthiness of our firm would greatly suffer if we violated this promise—however historical, and even as a legal successor," Frantisek Kurka said yesterday. "The information requested is a trade secret, and it will not be available to the public even in the future," he added.

Criminal Code Section on Hate Crimes Amended

95CH0310C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 11 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Kathleen Knox: "Government Steps Up Fight Against Hate Crimes"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Perpetrators of hate crimes face tougher sentences after parliament passed an amendment to the criminal code June 29.

The hate-crime package means that, as of September 1, criminals convicted of racially-motivated murder face up to life in prison, instead of the current maximum 15 years. Victims of other hate attacks could see their

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assailant go to prison for a maximum of five years instead of the current three.

The amendments dealing with hate crimes were drafted by Justice Minister Jiri Novak following an extraordinary meeting called by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in May. That meeting was called in response to the brutal murder of a Romany (Gypsy) father of five.

Tibor Berki, a bakery worker in the south Moravian town of Zdar nad Sazavou, was murdered in front of his five children May 13 after a group of youths barged into his house and battered him repeatedly on the back of the head with a baseball bat.

Though the amendments received support across parliament's political spectrum, some admitted it was more of a gesture than an effective remedy against the growing number of racial attacks—committed mainly against Romanies-in the Czech Republic.

"You'll never stamp out racially-motivated crimes by mere sanctions," said Rudolf Opatril, a parliamentary deputy who advocates even tougher penalties for murder. Opatril is a member of the centrist Czech-Moravian Union of the Center. "But it shows that the Czech Republic is taking (these crimes) seriously, that it's determined to fight them and that it is not afraid to call this problem by its name and put a stop to it by all possible means."

Ladislav Body, parliament's only Romany deputy, voiced reservations about the effectiveness of the new sanctions.

"They'll be law, but the question is whether they will be used," he said of the amendments. "This was a populist step. Will investigators qualify crimes as racially motivated or just say they were ordinary crimes?"

Body said that, in a recent case in the south Bohemian town of Hluboka nad Vltavou, some youths attacked a Romany family's house. "It wasn't proven that they were racists—they were just throwing stones at Romanies—so it was just put down as a misdemeanor," he said.

Body pointed to the lack of convictions under existing race legislation, for example the law against promoting fascism. He cited a high-profile murder trial in the south Bohemian town of Pisek last year, where 16 youths were accused of causing the death of 17-year-old Romany Tibor Danihel. Two of the defendants received suspended sentences; the rest were acquitted.

"Those skinheads sat in the courtroom wearing uniforms with fascist insignia," Body said. "The judge should have had them charged there and then with promoting fascism. He didn't. Judge for yourselves if it's worth passing something just to have it laid down in the law when it'll never be carried out."

Karel Holomek, a member of the Czech branch of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, a human-rights watchdog group, said "mere administrative measures can't change the situation permanently."

Rudolf Tancos, a Romany member of the government's Council for Nationalities, was similarly pessimistic.

"I'm convinced that if the laws had been adhered to as they ought to have been, it wouldn't have been necessary to call for tougher penalties," he said.

- Along with stiffer sentences for hate crimes, the amendments approved by parliament will give police wider powers in combating organized crime—police agents will now be able to infiltrate criminal gangs in the course of investigations—and introduce community-service punishments for less-serious crimes. A provision allowing witnesses who feel they are in danger to testify anonymously will also be reintroduced.

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Foreign Ministry Statement on Croatian Situation

LD0608160895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovak Foreign Ministry says it is concerned at the continuing military operations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and at the danger that the conflict could further escalate. Once again, it urges all participating sides to immediately cease fighting and resume peace talks. At the same time, it reminds all sides taking part in the conflict that they should respect international human rights conventions and that they should not expose civilians to military attacks.

The ministry also strongly denounces military attacks carried out during the current military campaign against the members of the UN peacekeeping forces deployed along the line dividing the warring sides, and expresses regret at the fact that UN peacekeepers have been wounded and killed.

On the basis of the information received from our embassy in Zagreb, the ministry says all Slovak members of the UN peacekeeping forces are all right.

Slovak vacationers have reported to our embassy in Zagreb no injuries or other serious problems related to the military activities in Croatia.

Because of the continuing military operations in Croatia, the Foreign Ministry recommends that our citizens not remain in Croatia and that they travel to Croatia only if it is absolutely necessary. [passage omitted]

Peaceful Solution Supported

LD0408180695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have just received the official position of the Foreign Ministry of the Slovak Republic on the security situation on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea. The statement is as follows.

[Unidentified correspondent] The Slovak Republic continues to support all the efforts aimed at resolving the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia through exclusively peaceful, political means. Slovakia also urgently appeals to all parties involved in the conflict to immediately end military operations and to start peace talks. [passage omitted]

First Home Guard Units Planned for Fall

AU0608092695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 3 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "(r)": "The First Home Guard Units in the Fall"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The first Home Guard units should be operative by the end of this year, Slovak National Party Chairman Jan Slota said on Slovak Radio. According to Slota, the model for the Home Guard should be close to the Hungarian or Polish models, but will have specific Slovak features. The officers called up will serve in the region where they live. The units will be armed with light weapons and will only defend the territory of the region in which they are deployed. Slota added that it was his party that came up with the idea of a Home Guard. He said the virtue of these units lies in higher efficiency with lower costs.

Home Guard units have been established in all of the surrounding states with the exception of the Czech Republic. To make sure that Slovakia's obligations arising from the Vienna Agreements are adhered to, current military units will be reorganized into Home Guard units, said Slota.

Slota on Education, Bribery From Abroad

AU0408212995 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 2 Aug 95 p 4

[TASR report: "The SNS Rejects the Partition of the Political Scene; Slovakia's Best Interest Is Most Important"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—At the most recent meeting involving the coalition party chairmen, I informed our partners that the Slovak National Party [SNS] intends to ask Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, to debate urgently the draft amendment to the Penal Code. This statement was made by SNS Chairman Jan Slota in an interview. Slota expects this proposal to be on the parliament's agenda as early as the September session. (It concerns an amendment to Articles 92 and 108 on the protection of the Republic—TASR note).

The SNS decided to take this step on the basis of recent events, which the public could also keep abreast of through the mass media. "I consider it to be our sacred duty to press for a debate on the amendment to this law, which is extremely necessary," emphasized J. Slota.

Children's Application in Life

According to the SNS, the idea of alternative education in the ethnically mixed areas is not being abandoned. It

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is a conceptually sound idea that will take hold, because every "ordinary Slovak citizen and parent should want his child to master the state language." He should be interested in ensuring that his children apply themselves in future life and, therefore, in this respect, the idea will definitely go forward. Personally, as SNS chairman, "the education law that was approved in Romania is very agreeable" to me. In connection with the recent attacks by the opposition parties on Education Minister Eva Slavkovska and the recommendation that she step down, Slota said the minister has the full confidence and support of the SNS.

Slota described as ridiculous the suggestions that the SNS and the Hungarian political parties could not exist without one another. "It would please the SNS very much if there were not a single Hungarian political party here," he stated.

Emissaries of Evil

Slota stuck to his claims from a few weeks ago that a parliamentary putsch is being prepared. According to him, the SNS has now confirmed unequivocally that the "dirty money to achieve the aims I described arrived in Slovakia in recent weeks." He added that he also knows the names of the specific individuals in whom "these emissaries of evil from abroad are interested." He described as interesting the fact that certain parties—for example, the Democratic Union of Slovakia—have no financial problems. In reply to a question on how the SNS finances itself, he said he has applied for a loan and that, at the moment, the party is still living from what it got for the results of the last parliamentary elections.

Black Marketeers in Deputies

According to Slota, the opposition will do all it can to reverse the state's policy. It can only gain a majority in the parliament by bribing certain deputies. He said that the opposition parties are implementing "the will of someone from abroad." Their policy is short-term; therefore, they intend to "pack up quickly and still get something from privatization." He described the Party of the Democratic Left as internationalists, for whom the national concept means almost nothing. According to J. Slota, the Christian Democratic Movement's top brass is controlled "from Atlanta in the United States or from certain other centers in the West that define democracy very much in their own way." He rejects the partition of the political scene into left, right, and center. "The most important thing for the SNS is what is in the best interest of this state and this law-governed nation," he added.

Poll Shows Interest in Entering NATO Declining

AU0708101595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by "(ja)": "Citizens' Interest in NATO Is Declining"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovak Republic made an official application to join the EU in June. What do citizens think about entry? The Slovak Statistical Office conducted an opinion poll in May and June focusing on Slovakia's entry into the EU and NATO. [passage omitted] The government discussed all the findings at its session on 2 August.

What do citizens think about Slovakia's endeavor to join the EU?

	Percent
Express complete support	21
Rather express support	31
Rather do not express support	11
Cannot say	31
Do not express any support	6

Some 52 percent of citizens support the Slovak Republic's effort to join the EU. Of citizens with a university education, 76 percent are in favor of entry. Of citizens with a high school education, 65 percent are in favor, while, of citizens with a basic education, only 36 percent are in favor.

Based on profession, 75 percent of businessmen, 64 percent of white-collar workers, and only 36 percent of pensioners are in favor.

Respondents consider the greatest advantage of integration to be an improvement in the Slovak Republic's international standing (32 percent), a boon to economic development (30 percent), and an opportunity to make use of the single market (20 percent). According to 11 percent, entry will bring no advantages at all. Citizens consider the greatest disadvantages to be a risk to domestic production (29 percent), a further rise in prices (21 percent), and subordination to the EU's legal system (21 percent). Eight percent expect no disadvantages at all.

Interest in joining NATO has fallen during the past two years. Those in the 18 to 39 age bracket are particularly in favor (41-42 percent), while those in the 40 to 59 age bracket are opposed (39-40 percent).

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According to education, citizens with a university education consider admission to be necessary (52 percent). From a geographic point of view, most opponents (39 percent) come from Central Slovakia and most supporters (45 percent) come from Bratislava.

What is your view on the need for Slovakia's entry into NATO?

	Percent	Percent
	1993	1995
Very necessary	15	10
Probably necessary	34	28
Probably unnecessary	18	19
Cannot say	22	27
Absolutely unnecessary	11	16

Spent Nuclear Fuel Transferred to South Moravia

LD0408163995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Another load of burned out nuclear fuel has recently been transported from the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station to the Dukovany [south Moravia] nuclear power station. This has been communicated to TASR by the press department of the Slovak power stations.

This transfer represents a gradual implementation of the pledge between our power stations and the Czech Power Enterprises [CEZ]. By the end of 1996, the CEZ will take to their own stores the burned out fuel originally coming from Dukovany, which had been transported from the Dukovany nuclear power station to the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station in the period between January 1989 and March 1992.

Spokeswoman on Subsidies to Minority Press

LD0408154695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Editor Vladimir Dobrik has interviewed Marta Podhradska, head of the press office at the Ministry of Culture:

[Begin recording] [Dobrik] The Ministry of Culture has given subsidies to HLAS LUDU and SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, but this was money designated for the dailies of national minorities. How would you substantiate this issue?

[Podhradska] The state fund of Culture Pro-Slovakia has concluded agreements with editorial boards of Salus, Danubia Print, and [word indistinct] on issuing supplements for national minorities. It is clear, then, that the priority of national minority can be qualified as nationality press. Why did the Ministry of Culture decide to issue these supplements? The government policy statement on national minorities states clearly that the Ministry of Culture is responsible for this sphere; and since the analysis of the overall situation has demonstrated that, unfortunately, minority cultures are not adequately informed about what is being prepared in the Slovak Republic for them, what is happening, what legislative norms are valid, anchored in the Constitution and in international agreements which the Slovak Republic signed, we have decided that one has to overcome this ignorance and language barrier. That is why we announced a public competition in January to fulfill this task—that is, to publish a multilingual periodical for minority cultures. [passage omitted]

[Dobrik] The Ministry has fulfilled all the legal regulations and criteria in assigning these subsidies.

[Podhradska] This is so. [end recording]

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Kovacs Urges 'Political Solution' to Yugoslav Crisis

LD0408174295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary continues to urge the reaching of a comprehensive political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. This view was outlined by Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs in a telephone conversation with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic today when the Croatian foreign minister telephoned his Hungarian colleague.

Granic informed Kovacs about the things that induced Croatia to launch the military action earlier this morning. They saw no other possibility for restoring Croatian sovereignty over the Serbian-occupied territories. The Hungarian foreign minister repeated the Hungarian position, according to which the use of military means—irrespective of the intention—always carries the danger of spreading the war.

Following the events, Hungarian tourists have repeatedly been warned not to travel to Croatia unless they have to. However, the Foreign Ministry's call to the tourists also pointed out that the current military actions did not directly threaten the areas of the Istrian Peninsula and Kvarner Bay.

Ministry Official on Budget Support for Minorities

AU0308195795 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Aug 95 p 4

[Interview with Csaba Tabajdi, state secretary at the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office, by Janos Tardos; place and date not given: "Tabajdi: The Representation of Hungarians in the MVSZ Is One-Sided—Decreasing Support in Real Terms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the government, Csaba Tabajdi, state secretary at the Prime Minister's Office, coordinates the issues of domestic minorities and the Hungarians living beyond the border. This time, we interviewed him on state support for minority Hungarians, the Duna Television, and the disputed issues of the World Federation of Hungarians [MVSZ].

[Tardos] The new government came into office more than a year ago. How did you start to review the support system for the Hungarians living beyond the border?

[Tabajdi] We were left with two really chronic problems: The Vojvodina issues and support for the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. Previously, Sandor Hodi was responsible for financial issues in the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK]. This is how he came to be in charge of the aid. When relations between the organization's leaders—Andras Agoston, Sandor Hodi, and Janos Vekas—deteriorated, Hodi stopped passing on the money in his trust. In fact, our first task was to get the amounts due to the VMDK back from him. We managed to do this after many months of work. The lesson of this issue is that the previous government did not handle it adequately. From the end of 1993, Agoston gave signals to the relevant officials of the government, namely Geza Jeszenszky and Geza Entz. Hodi and Agoston should have been made to jointly clarify this matter immediately. This step was not taken.

[Tardos] It is possible that due to the embargo and the laws of rump Yugoslavia, the only way for the state to send aid to the Hungarians in Vojvodina is through private channels. Nevertheless, the question arises whether it is advisable to handle the money, which was collected from the taxpayers, through one person or a very narrow interest group? Learning from the earlier failures, will the Hungarian Government consider changing this form of financing?

[Tabajdi] Changes have long been implemented. Trustee boards of the Illyes Foundation were set up in Romania, Slovakia, Sub-Carpathia, and Vojvodina. The main task of the Illyes Foundation's board of trustees is to define the quotas for the various countries, and to decide on the support that affects more than one country at the same time. In addition, it has to check the decisions of the subordinate trustee boards to avoid a political-ideological tendency, a region, or other interest group taking more from the state support to the detriment of others. The essence of the system of subordinate boards of trustees is that those receiving the support, the people concerned, should divide up the money granted to the region.

[Tardos] How public are the final decisions?

[Tabajdi] This always depends on the local conditions. For example, the Romanian board decided to publish the list of those receiving support each year, but not the amount. However, they make it possible for all Hungarians in Romania also to look at the figures they wish to see.

[Tardos] What amount of money is the Hungarian Government able to donate per year to the minorities living beyond the border?

[Tabajdi] The Illyes Foundation receives 300 million forints [Ft] a year, the New Handshake Foundation gets 200 million, and the MVSZ 180 million. In addition, the Ministry for Education and Culture has amounts for this purpose. Disregarding Duna Television, this totals nearly Ft1.2 billion a year. The Duna Television

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receives Ft2.5 billion in state support. However, all these together do not reach 0.075 percent of the budget.

[Tardos] The relatively small amount in aid makes the question even more emphatic: Can we permit to give one-sixth of the total amount to the maintenance of a single organization dealing with issues of Hungarians beyond the border? I am thinking of the MVSZ and its Ft180 million.

[Tabajdi] When every third Hungarian person is living outside the country's borders, it is important for a civic organization to exist which can integrate them. Actually, parliament decides the level of support given to the MVSZ each year.

[Tardos] Even if this organization is necessary, the fact that it spends a significant proportion of state support intended for Hungarians living beyond the border on itself creates dissatisfaction. Public opinion is also divided in connection with them because, although they appear to intend to represent the interests of all Hungarians, only one political party—the Hungarian Democratic Forum—and one ideological tendency, namely the conservative right wing, is represented in its leadership.

[Tabajdi] This latter statement has some truth in it. However, it is important to sharply divide the issues of the foundations and the world federation.

[Tardos] However, this is made difficult by the fact that very strong personal linkages exist between the boards of trustees, the supervisory committees, and the boards of directors....

[Tabajdi] Look, I know the Illyes Foundation's board of trustees and I know that [MVSZ Chairman] Sandor Csoori did not have a decisive influence there. It is true that some personal links do exist between the MVSZ and Duna Television, but it would be a simplification to treat the two organizations as one.

[Tardos] Nevertheless, if someone wants to see Csoori, the easiest thing for him to do is to switch on Duna Television. He need not wait long, Csoori will sooner or later definitely appear on the screen.

[Tabajdi] I do not know how many times Csoori appears on Duna Television. However, there are two facts. Since Trianon, no other important step like the establishment of Duna Television has been made in the life of the Hungarians living beyond the border. And Csoori had indisputable merits in setting it up.

[Tardos] After all, few people dispute the merits of Duna Television. The situation of the MVSZ is different....

[Tabajdi] In my view, the problem is that the MVSZ is not representative enough and not politically balanced enough. First of all, the forces and people who play a role in the MVSZ do not represent Hungarian society, and the representation of foreigners also has some one-sidedness. I would find it more appropriate if, in the Carpathian basin, the legitimate organizations of the given countries were able to delegate representatives to the MVSZ. This would certainly end the current practice where, in many cases, people who were defeated in the democratic election procedures in their own country represent the Hungarian community of the given country.

[Tardos] In what way could you influence the MVSZ to adhere in the future to the principles you consider correct?

[Tabajdi] We can only hope for the MVSZ leaders' sober consideration. I have actually held many encouraging talks with MVSZ general secretary Istvan Bakos.

[Tadros] However, Bakos is an employee rather than an elected leader of the MVSZ. Only Csoori has a decisive influence on the decisionmaking bodies of the MVSZ.

[Tabajdi] In my view, the positive tendencies may become stronger with the departure of Ivan Timko from the organization.

[Tardos] In the current worsening economic conditions, and the restriction applied in almost all areas, can we maintain the current level of budget support for the Hungarians beyond the border?

[Tabajdi] The government program indicated that the support cannot be less than in previous years. We have also received promises that we will be able to use similar amounts in 1996 both for the minorities in Hungary and for the Hungarian organizations abroad. However, in real terms these amounts are losing their value.

1994-95 Parliament Activity Analyzed

95CH0304C Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 1 Jul 95 p 85

[Article by Endre Babus: "Parliament's Backlog—A Lean Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Unlike the U.S. House of Representatives, which was elected last year, Budapest's parliament, which has been in office precisely one year, did not come forward with a kind of 'Contract with Hungary'—but it did promise taxpayers an extensive legislative program. However, parliament's great march failed to take place: the coalition, and the National Assembly it controls, failed in many areas to implement its legislative program.*

Although parliament is trying to close its first legislative session this week with a big last-minute rush (in

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accordance with its preset agenda, it will put the bills on state secrecy and public archives, for instance, to a final vote), the House's legislative performance has been strikingly poor. The grandiose legislative plan, which was set in the 24 June 1994 coalition agreement between the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] and the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] and in the subsequent July government program, has practically collapsed. The coalition promised 12 laws—designated as "urgent," "immediate," and "to be legislated in 1994"—to create [or update] our republic's missing or obsolete legal institutions, but only four of these have, or will, become new laws in one year, even if the final votes on Friday will bring about some results.

Parliament's and the administration's poor performance is surprising, not only because the coalition commands a 72-percent majority—that is, it can do in the National Assembly whatever it pleases—but also because, at the beginning of their term, representatives approved a new set of House rules, precisely to speed up the legislative process (HVG, 24 September 1994). Incidentally, that was the first and last extensive statute that was passed within deadline since June 1994. That the legislative machinery worked inefficiently, nonetheless, is connected, it seems, with the administration's inability to make decisions. Both the very detailed coalition agreement and the Coalition Reconciliation Council, which was created for handling conflicts (and which seems to have been pushed to the side), proved to be ineffective in rapidly resolving disagreements between the MSZP and the SZDSZ and between the government parties. Another reason for the problems is that the Ministry of Justice (IM) is in a weak position in the Horn-Kuncze administration (unlike during the Antall and Boross administrations). It is not the Ministry of Justice but the other ministries that submit (or fail to submit) most of the bills to the executive branch.

In comparing this parliament's activity during its first year with that of the previous parliament, one could come to the conclusion that, in terms of volume, the present House's performance has surpassed that of its predecessor. The previous parliament, which had a Christian-national majority, passed 90 laws in its first quarter, as opposed to the 107 laws passed by the present parliament. However, at closer scrutiny, it becomes apparent that not a few—16, to be precise—of these laws are mere statutes for publishing, or rescinding, some earlier international agreements. At the same time, several more significant promises made by the present National Assembly failed to materialize, e.g., the codification of the new Constitution (promised by the summer of 1995), and the plans regarding the permanent termination of compensation, the media and national security laws, and the new law on legislation. In addition to the Bokros package, which introduced shock therapy, the new statutes on privatization, public acquisitions, state secrecy and public archives are the only ones (if passed this coming Friday) that represent any significant legislative accomplishment of the National Assembly that was elected last year.

The unfulfillment of promises cannot be explained by the careful preparation these bills need. The government parties, which during the past term strongly criticized volunteerism in preparing bills and demanded impact assessments before passing new statutes, forgot all this after they came to power. There were only a very few bills (e.g., the modification of the Penal Code's sections dealing with juveniles, and the law on public acquisitions) to which the administration attached—as promised—some preliminary calculations. Another objective of the government program failed to materialize, namely, that "Before legislating any major statute, the government shall publish the details regarding its preparation and principles. The appropriate unions... may be provided with information, and they may submit their views in writing or, at request, may voice their views at public hearings." That this goal has not been achieved is demonstrated by the fact that the Independent Lawyers Forum and eight other private organizations recently published their protest in the press because they feel left out of the five-party constitutionalization process (HVG, 13 May 1995).

Already at the end of last year, the justice minister tried to cool down the increased expectations toward parliament by saying, "Legislation is not a train timetable." However, because of the absence of promised legislations, the *exlex* situation is maintained in several areas, with increasing doubts about the coalition's credibility. The delays, which are sometimes unexplainable, raise the question whether the government really wants to create honest rules of game in certain spheres. For it is increasingly difficult to explain, for instance, why the parties presently in power are maintaining for the seventh year—through delaying the media law—the unconstitutional frequency moratorium and the possibility to manually control the electronic media, while giving up the hundreds of million forints of revenues that would come from the privatization of the radio and TV channels. Putting the national security law on ice also violates basic liberty rights because, for the sixth year, it is still up to the administration (more precisely, the justice minister), and not independent courts, to decide who may be subject to intelligence methods by Hungarian security agencies. The delay concerning the draft bill on legislators' incompatibility (the legislation of which was especially demanded by the MSZP while in oppo-

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sition) reinforces the nationwide impression that it is not within the walls of parliament where the coalition intends to initiate the crusade against corruption.

The fact that—in accordance with the ruling of the Constitutional Court—five unconstitutional statutes should have been changed by the House of Representatives for months, even years now (HVG 21 February 1995), and that three bills (on the media, national security, and the national symbols) are on the representatives' tables, the passing of which, according to the government program, was urgent already in 1994, does not deter the Hungarian National Assembly to begin at the end of this week an unusually long summer recess (the longest one of the past five years). The representatives, who have already awarded themselves 11 weeks of vacation for the past year (since the beginning of their term), are now going on a vacation of nine and a half weeks (from 30 June to 4 September). In view of this long vacation, it is almost certain that parliament's backlog list will grow longer: in the four short weeks in September, the National Assembly will hardly be able to make a decision on the secret service files of the [former] party state. Thus it rather doubtful that after 30 September citizens can—in accordance with the Constitutional Court's December 1994 ruling—look into these files, which are still strictly classified at present.

[Box, p 85]

Missing Laws

[The following is a list of] "immediate," "urgent," "as soon as possible" laws which were promised in the 24 June 1994 agreement and were slotted for 1994, but which have not yet been legislated:

1. the new law on legislation

2. the extensive modification of the law on the Constitutional Court

3. the law on national security

4. the law on the political and legal responsibilities of ministers and state secretaries

5. the modification of the law on the incompatibility of representatives

6. the law on the termination of compensation

7. the law on the free use of radio and television.

Laws that are still unlegislated in violation of Constitutional Court ruling:

1. the law on the president's legal immunity

2. the law on the president's remuneration and benefits

3. the law on the use of national symbols

4. the law on disaster management

5. the law on [political] asylum.

Further legislations or modifications ordered by the Constitutional Court (Ab):

1. the reconciliation of the law on referenda with the Constitution (Ab resolution 2/1993)

2. the implementation of the Paris Peace Treaty concerning deposited Jewish property (16/1993)

3. the definition of certain regulations on local referenda (18/1993), 4. the termination of the unconstitutional situation caused by laws on cooperatives and land appropriation committees (28/1994).

[Box, p 86]

The Whirlpool of Cadre Survival

Presumably, only the minister's initials (L.P.) would have remained unchanged, had the prime minister heeded the advice of the MSZP parliamentary group and appoint Laszlo Puch, head of the parliamentary group's economic team, minister of industry and commerce to replace Laszlo Pal, who was dismissed last Thursday. For the entrepreneur-representative from Baranya [County], who is 42 and thus a decade younger than the leaving minister, has no affiliation whatsoever either with the reviving capital city's administrative bureaucracy or with the industrial lobby (which also seems to be reviving). By his own admission, he represents liberal spiritualism within the MSZP parliamentary group and, thus, no one could consider him a "union wing" supporter. In business, he sided with commerce ever since he was 19; in every respect, he belongs to the generation that was not totally unprepared for the privatization that accompanied the changing of the regimes. Had Gyula Horn chosen him as his future minister (the fifth one within five months of "renewal" of the 15-member cabinet), he would not have had to be concerned with quarrels arising from the planned privatization of the large service enterprises, for instance, which lead to Laszlo Pal's dismissal.

But, for the second time now, Horn chose a "civilian" solution, namely, contrary to the usual practice in parliamentary democracies where cabinet members are selected from among representatives of the government parties, he nominated again a nonparty expert to this economic portfolio, following the example of the finance minister's appointment. (Incidentally, the situation was similar in both the first and second Antall administrations [as published] until Mihaly Kupa and Bela Kadar accepted their nomination for the House

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(supported by the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]) and until the former became a legislator under the MDF's colors.) As he told our correspondent, Laszlo Puch does not negate that the prime minister has the discretionary right to select the ministers, and that he does not feel that State Secretary of Public Administration Imre Dunai's "promotion" created a rift between the administration and the parliamentary group. However, regardless of last week's *intermezzo* of dismissal and nomination, there are still conflicts, although the apparent tension between the administration and representatives of the leading government party was not as great during the first year of the present National Assembly as it was four years ago in the MDF's case. "The channels between the administration and the parliamentary group and between the latter and the public (some would say between the party and the public) are very narrow," said physician and MDF representative Tamas Somogyi in March 1991 in 168 Hours (he was one of the "52 rebels" of that time). This statement is very much in line with the results of an MSZP survey, which was discussed last Saturday at the meeting of the socialists' national committee. A statement in this document, "We are not addressing the various social strata properly, therefore, we cannot adequately convince them," was quoted in Monday's NEPSZABADSAG. In other words, the MSZP must also begin facing problems that are similar to those of the earlier MDF, and the reason for this is that—both in terms of the sizes of their memberships and the intensity of their relations with the various social strata—neither the 1990 nor the 1994 winners of the parliamentary elections were parties of the masses (despite millions of supporters).

The MSZP's slogan on the huge election posters during the April-May 1994 elections is to be remembered: "To Let Expertise Govern!" Gyula Horn's practice in forming a government at that time, and his continued practice of transforming the government, leads to the conclusion that, by and large, the prime minister identifies experts with the former Nemeth administration's key personalities. For instance, the return of historian Ferenc Glatz or legal expert Kalman Kulcsar to government positions was stopped a year ago solely by the SZDSZ's resistance. The inclusion of Laszlo Bekesi or Ferenc Bartha (who was "brought into position" as commissioner of privatization) also supported this "nostalgia." On the other hand, Horn's idea (which was supposed to be a "terrific feat") met with the resistance of the MSZP's executive committee: it was the latter which helped Laszlo Pal, just dismissed, into the chair of the minister of industry and commerce, instead of Peter Medgyessy, the prime minister's choice. The appointments to various positions of state administration during the past short year provide abundant examples for the above statement although the prime minister selected the new ministers from among the parliamentary group in three instances (Istvan Nikolits, Tamas Suchman, Gyorgy Szabo) and "reached" somewhere else only in two instances (Lajos Bokros and now Imre Dunai).

While in Bokros's case, Horn was able to swiftly remind his potential party critics of the finance minister's active role in the 1989 national convention of transformation or of the fact that six months later he was a (short-lived) representative of the MSZP's parliamentary group in the first freely elected parliament, no such political accomplishment is to be found in Dunai's "cadre file." The newest ministerial nominee is a full-time bureaucrat—both in the good and bad sense of the word—who will presumably be noticed for other reasons than his struggle with the prime minister. At the same time, it is possible that Imre Dunai, the former Ministry of Commerce state secretary, who was Commerce Bank's (K&H) deputy director general during the early 1990's, may have been useful enough either directly to the MSZP or to party-related business ventures to "deserve" a ministerial position in a socialist-run government. It is possible, of course, that perhaps Laszlo Puch would have also met this last requirement, for he is partner in Schenk & Associate, Inc., which has been notorious for supporting the MSZP even during "the most difficult times."

—by Ivan Lipovecz

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Izetbegovic Sends Tudjman Letter of Support

AU0508160495 Paris AFP in English 1559 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 5 (AFP)—Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic sent a letter to his Croatian counterpart Franjo Tudjman on Saturday [5 August] backing Croatia's offensive against separatist Serbs rebels in the Krajina region.

"I am convinced that the cooperation of our countries in the struggle against the joint aggressor will accelerate development of the overall relations between Bosnia and Croatia," Izetbegovic wrote.

Croatian troops launched an offensive at dawn Friday against separatist Serbs and Saturday took Knin, "capital" of the self-proclaimed Serb republic.

Izetbegovic's letter added: "I am pleased to see that the Split Declaration is being implemented in a way that will ease sufferings of the people of Bihac."

Bosnian and Croatian presidents signed a military agreement in Split on July 22 in which they specifically agreed to cooperate militarily in easing the pressure on the Bihac enclave. [passage omitted]

Speaking shortly before a report that Bosnian Government troops from the northwestern Bihac enclave had crossed into Croatia to link up with Croatian Government forces, Sacirbegovic said the Bosnian and Croatian Armies planned to join their forces northwest of the Bihac enclave.

The minister said "the two armies plan to open humanitarian corridor there" to bring relief to the Bihac enclave, which until Saturday was completely surrounded by the rebel Bosnian and Croatian Serbs. [passage omitted]

Says Refugees Alter Demographics

LD0608182095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today received John Menzies, the U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina [name and title as received], who conveyed Washington's message that the U.S. Administration will support only those initiatives, plans, and actions for solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina that have the consent of the legal authorities in Sarajevo, President Izetbegovic's office has announced.

During the talks they analyzed the situation after the Croatian Army's successes in the territory of the former Serb Krajina, and after the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps had broken the siege and created much better conditions for supplying the residents of the Bihac region with food, medicines, and other staples.

It was also agreed that the Croatian Army's liberating offensive caused a huge wave of [word indistinct] refugees into Bosnia-Herzegovina, including around 10,000 to 20,000 soldiers. This will have a considerable impact on the demographic situation in our country, and military conscripts will certainly be enlisted to take part in Karadzic's actions.

The international reaction to the situation should be, among other things, increased protection of Gorazde, Tuzla, and Sarajevo by NATO forces, President Izetbegovic stressed during talks with U.S. Ambassador Menzies.

Sacirbegovic Supports Croatia's 'Legal' Action

AU0508155595 Paris AFP in English 1540 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 5 (AFP)—Bosnia said Saturday [5 August] it supported the "legal" offensive of the Croatian Government against its separatist Serbs rebels in the Krajina region.

Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic, addressing reporters in central town of Zenica, said Bosnia "supports the legal action of Croatia to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity," the official Bosnian news agency BH PRESS reported.

Croatian troops launched an offensive at dawn Friday [4 August] against the separatist Serbs and Saturday took Knin, "capital" of the self-proclaimed Serb Republic.

Sacirbegovic said the Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic was to send a letter of support to his Croatian counterpart Franjo Tudjman Saturday. [passage omitted]

Muslim Party 'Shocked' at Silajdzic Resignation

LD0608033895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0000 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting was held in Zenica today of the main board of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The meeting was attended by the party leaders from Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla, and other towns.

It is said in a statement issued after the meeting that the Bosnia-Herzegovina public and most likely the world public as well were shocked to learn about the resignation of Bosnianh Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Bosnia-Herzegovina has begun to exist as a law-governed civic state and a great deal has been done on promoting the country throughout the world. In view of this and of his

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moral qualities, the MBO has decided to give its support to Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister of the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the party says in the statement.

The party also made reference to the latest session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The MBO is of the view that the Assembly should not have adopted any of the three amendments. It insists that Amendment 82 is designed to break up the collective nature of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to introduce the presidential system through the back door.

Tuzla Veterans Oppose Resignation

AU0708114195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The unified organization of fighters, the Union of Veterans of the Tuzla Commune, has issued a sharp protest to the public at large for reconciling itself to Prime Minister Silajdzic's offered resignation, since his departure, they stress, would undoubtedly lead to the weakening of the patriotic morale of the Army and the people, and our state would suffer an irreplaceable loss.

In the name of all our casualties in the struggle for the freedom of our only homeland, Prime Minister Silajdzic simply must not and cannot go, and all those who are reconciled to this or even support his departure cannot mean well for our country and our nation.

The name of Haris Silajdzic is one of the symbols of our struggle of liberation, since in the darkest times it was this great son of our nation that gave us strength and faith in the victory of our freedom loving, antifascist, and democratic goals. The rating and reputation that we have in the world is mostly the work of our prime minister, who has never accepted the defeat of a unified Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Haris Silajdzic's name is the name of our people's faith in freedom and victory and the prime minister's departure is no longer just a matter of run-of-the-mill politics, but an issue that is of the national and state interest to Bosnia-Herzegovina, reads the protest note by the unified organization of fighters, the Union of Veterans.

Srebrenica Refugees To Be Resettled in Brcko

LD0608212195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Haris Silajdzic, outgoing prime minister of the Republic and of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, government ministers Munever Imamovic, Ibrahim Kuluder, and Muharem Cero, Deputy Minister Izudin Pesetovic, and Tuzla-Podrinje Canton Governor Izet Hadzic paid a short working visit to the free territory of Brcko today.

The delegation toured the area as part of their visit to the canton in order to check opportunities for the permanent settlement of refugees from Srebrenica and Zepa in that area.

Prime Minister Silajdzic was shown areas where moderate investment into housing facilities can provide good living conditions for the people who have already arrived in the Brcko municipality, and create conditions for accepting larger numbers of refugees. [passage omitted]

UN Preparing Airlift To Help Krajina Refugees

AU0608110095 Paris AFP in English 1055 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 6 (AFP)—The UN relief agency was Sunday [6 August] preparing to airlift food aid to tens of thousands of Serbs from Krajina streaming towards the Bosnian Serb-held town of Banja Luka, UN officials said. "Tomorrow an airlift will begin from Zagreb to Belgrade," said the UNHCR's Vladimir Tsourko, contacted by telephone from the Serbian capital. He said the vital aid would then be trucked overland from Belgrade to Banja Luka, whose airport, in the centre of the UN's no-fly zone, has been closed for the past two years.

As he spoke, UN aid workers were trying to establish the number of refugees fleeing the lightning Croatian army offensive in Krajina. Local Bosnian Serb officials in Banja Luka told AFP that an estimated 120,000 people were on the road, streaming in two columns to the north and south of the Bihac pocket. "This is not yet confirmed but we can say that it is a massive movement of dozens of thousands of people, the biggest since the war began," said Tsourko, head of the UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees) office in Banja Luka. Another UNHCR official said "we think there are somewhere in the region of 100,000 people on the move."

The relief agency said it would need help to deal with the crisis, which, if the numbers are confirmed, will be the biggest exodus faced by the UN since the Balkan wars erupted four years ago. "I want to take this opportunity to appeal to all agencies. We have urgent needs, especially food and tents," Tsourko said.

On Saturday, Croatian officials said they had left two corridors open to allow for the evacuation of civilians to Bosnia. One is skirting the north of the Bosnian government-held Bihac pocket while the second is weaving around the pocket's southern edge.

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150,000 Refugees in RS

LD0608172795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 6 Aug (SRNA)—Gojko Klickovic, head of the headquarters for refugees of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS], told SRNA today that more than 150,000 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] have already arrived on Serb Republic territory.

"If we add the refugees from Glamoc and Grahovo and the problem of their planned resettlement, the situation is even worse," Klickovic said.

"We reached agreement today with delegations from Serbia and Krajina on the planned resettlement of refugees in the area between Banja Luka and Prijedor, and we immediately began accommodating children and the sick from the RSK," he added.

He said that some of the obligations will be assumed by the Krajina government, which is in Banja Luka, in agreement with the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Children, Elderly To Go to FRY

LD0608202895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 6 Aug (SRNA)—A meeting of the Republican Crisis headquarters for the reception of refugees was held in Banja Luka today presided over by Gojko Klikovic. The meeting was devoted to the examination of possibilities of accommodating refugees from Krajina.

The session was also attended by Dragan Kalinic, Serb Republic minister of health, Commissioner for Refugees Ljubisa Vladusic, a Krajina delegation led by Commissioner for Refugees Milan Trbulina, and a delegation from Serbia, which was made up of Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina, and Minister of Health Ljeposava Milicevic.

One of the main conclusions is that the elderly, children, and the infirm can be provided for in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while all able-bodied persons and other population will remain on the territory of the Serb Republic and will be settled between Prijedor, Sanski Most, and Bijeljina. [passage omitted]

FRY, RS Border Reopens

LD0608225295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2214 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serb Republic cooperation committee, the coordinating body for humanitarian operations, has informed all humanitarian organizations and donors planning to send aid to Krajina that the Raca border crossing between the Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is open again from this evening, SRNA reports.

The FRY has accepted all the refugees who reached the Raca border crossing today.

Two More Bridges Open

LD0708120195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijeljina, 7 Aug (SRNA)—Thousands of citizens of the Republic of Serb Krajina who left their homes before the Croatian aggression, last night and this morning crossed over bridges on the Sava and Drina Rivers from the territory of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Uninterrupted columns of vehicles are moving toward Pavlovica bridge and the border crossing in [Bosanska] Raca.

To reduce pressure on these two border crossings in Semberija, bridges in Sepak [near Loznica] and Karakaj [near Zvornik] have also been opened for crossing into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Mladic Threatens 'Massive' Force Against Croats

AU0408170395 Paris AFP in English 1606 GMT 4 Aug 95

[Report by Jean-Luc Porte]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 4 (AFP)—Croatia's offensive against secessionist Serbs on Friday [4 August] sucked Bosnia into the fray, with Bosnian Government forces crossing into Croatia and Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic poised to send in troops.

Bosnian Government forces defending the northwest Bosnian enclave of Bihac from Croatian Serb and rebel Moslem troops crossed Friday into the Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia to assist the Croatian Army offensive, a UN spokesman said in Zagreb Friday.

"The Bosnian Army defending Bihac has launched incursions into the Dvor region to increase the pressure on the Krajina Serbs. It is a combined operation between the Bosnian and Croatian armies," he said. [passage omitted]

Dvor, a town with a largely Serb population, is located in the Krajina region across the border from Bihac. The Croatian Serb military ordered the immediate evacuation of Dvor and of the northwest Bosnian town

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of Prijedor in a message broadcast by Serb radio monitored in Zagreb. But there was no immediate confirmation of the evacuation orders.

Western observers in Sarajevo said the Moslem-led Bosnian Government forces could try, despite their limited arms resources, to capitalise on the Croatian offensive which is mobilising Serbs on a very broad front, to try to liberate the besieged Bosnian capital. Similarly, in Bihac, the Bosnian Army 5th Corps could attempt to take advantage of the Croatian offensive and attempt to seize territory, a western military observer said. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, an informed source close to the United Nations, who asked to remain anonymous, said Friday that in a recent meeting with UN Protection Force commander Lieutenant Colonel Rupert Smith, Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic warned that a massive contingent of his troops would enter the conflict in case of a Croatian offensive.

UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko emphasised the strong "risk of Bosnian Serb reprisals," adding that with the military escalation, war can easily reach Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Bosnian authorities and the residents of Sarajevo alike are not concealing their delight with the Croatian advance. Bosnian deputies meeting in Zenica notably applauded the news of the initial success of the Croatian offensive. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Appoints Mladic Special Adviser

LD0408224895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2223 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, this evening adopted a decision to rename the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army into the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, which under conditions of imminent danger of war and the state of war turns into the Supreme Command headquarters, SRNA has reported.

"The headquarters is under direct command of the supreme commander of the Serb Republic Armed Forces.

"Because of the need for the single defense of the Serb territories, the post of special adviser to the supreme commander for coordination of the joint defense of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina has been established, to which, by the decision of the supreme commander, Colonel General Ratko Mladic has been appointed, as the most experienced general in defending both states," a statement says.

"All other officers in the Supreme Command headquarters and corps commanders will keep their present posts," the statement says.

Mladic Refuses Post

LD0508183895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 5 Aug (SRNA-FONET)—General Ratko Mladic has refused to accept the post of special advisor and coordinator of the joint defense of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, to which he was appointed last night by Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic.

The information service of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army today carried Mladic's statement: "I entered the war as a soldier and that is how I want to leave it. I cannot accept the cabinet post of the President's special advisor and I consider my appointment to the fictional post of advisor and coordinator of disunited armies and states to be illegal dismissal from the post of the chief of General Staff of the Serb Republic Army."

"This scenario on the day of the Ustasha aggression against the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina and the successful Bosnian Serb Army counterstrike for the liberation of Glamoc and Grahovo is a calculated move aimed at causing a rift among the Serbs, ordered by the world's power brokers; I do not wish to take part in this."

"Therefore, I shall remain at the post of commander of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army as long as our fighters and people support me, and until I am dismissed in accordance with the constitution and current laws on the army and defense," Mladic said.

Karadzic Denies Mladic Dismissal

LD0508201195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1932 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 5 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of its armed forces, has ordered the supreme command headquarters to use all the means at its disposal in the defense of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Karadzic said in a statement to the press prior to the beginning of a session of the Club of Serb Deputies in Pale that "Colonel General Ratko Mladic received orders to coordinate the defense of the two Serb states."

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"The supreme command is determined to defend the Republic of Serb Krajina with all available means and not to recognize the results of Croatia's aggression, both against Western Slavonia and Knin," said the Serb Republic president, and added that "the Serb nation, as long as it exists, will reclaim what it has lost in this aggression."

Asked by the SRNA reporter about the current situation on the western Serb borders, Karadzic stressed that on the whole the situation on the front lines in the Serb Republic was "good" and "that the Serb Army is slowly retaking some occupied parts of the municipalities of Glamoc and Grahovo.

"The Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina is disproportionate to our efforts, and in this sense the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should have automatically reacted," Karadzic said, and added "that this is a shameful act without a precedent in Serbian history."

Karadzic said the Serb Republic will not officially appeal to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to come to the defense of some parts of the people of Serb Krajina, because if it does not feel obliged to help Serbs then there is no need to send any kind of official appeal.

At the same time, the president of the Serb Republic denied the claim that the aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina was the result of an agreement between Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, "because even Milosevic or the president of Krajina have not been authorized by the Serbian people to renounce a state."

"These are speculations," Karadzic said.

Explaining the changes in the system of command of the Serb Republic, Karadzic said that General Mladic has not been relieved of his previous duties, but "he had simply been given an additional task, to coordinate the defense of western Serb states and suggest certain decisions to the supreme commander."

Generals Oppose Karadzic Move

LD0608105895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The college of commanders of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army [VRS] of Colonel General Ratko Mladic, which met between 5 and 6 August in Banja Luka, concluded that the generals can neither accept nor realize the Serb Republic president's decision "to replace the VRS chief of the General Staff and proposing some other systemic, organizational, and personnel changes," about the implementation of which no one had been consulted.

This was stated in an address by 18 VRS generals to the People's Assembly and the Serb republic's president. Generals Manojlo Milovanovic, Milan Gvero, Djordje Djukic, Zdravko Tolimir, Petar Skrbic, Jovo Maric, Momir Talic, Bosko Kelecevic, Vladimir Arsic, Momir Zec, Radivoje Tomanic, Novica Simic, Radoslav Krstic, Radovan Grubac, Zivomir Ninkovic, Bozo Novak, and Grujo Boric put their signatures on this letter.

The letter says that in addition to the college of the VRS General Staff commanders, all corps commanders, the commanders of the 30th Infantry Division, the 9th Operational Group, the Air Force and air defense, the center of military colleges, and chiefs of staff were also present.

The session discussed the military and political situation after the Croatian aggression against Glamoc, Grahovo, and the Republic of Serb Krajina.

"The generals individually and unanimously decided (regarding president Karadzic's decision to replace General Mladic) that it was a wrong move at this most difficult moment, the implementation of which could have unforeseeable consequences for our people, our struggle, and Army," the letter said.

The generals said that "such decisions, including this one, are subject to verification by the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic. We propose that the deputies not accept it in the interest of the unity of our people, Army, its combat readiness, and morale, as well as the success of our defense and our struggle for the freedom, peace, and creation of the Serb state."

The deputies of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic are also calling on the Serbs to be harmonious and not succumb to conflicts and divisions.

"We need every man, especially such Army leaders as General Ratko Mladic, whose qualities are well known to the entire world, even to our enemies," the VRS generals said. "No one has the right for any reason to leave the Serb people at the most difficult of times without their commander, a general who is highly respected by fighters and commanders alike."

The VRS generals suggested that the Serb Republic deputies consider all the negative consequences that would inevitably arise from such an unacceptable decision, which, in their view, would also divide the people and Army into two camps, supporters of Karadzic and Mladic.

At last night's session the generals decided, as said in the address to the People's Assembly, that the system of

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command, management, and subordination laid out by the Constitution of the Serb Republic should continue to be respected and that, in accordance with general military experience and skill, they will only obey orders received from Colonel General Ratko Mladic, the chief of the VRS General Staff.

The generals concluded that they are convinced that the deputies of the Serb Republic have no interests other than those of the people and that their decisionmaking will be based on their conscience and historic responsibility for the fate of the Serb people in the Republic of Serbia.

Assembly Supports Karadzic

LD0708001095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2257 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 6 Aug (SRNA)—Serb Republic Information Minister Miroslav Toholj announced this evening at the end of the session of the People's Assembly on Mt. Jahorina that the parliament "accepted the government's assessment that the Serb Republic president's decisions on renaming the headquarters are constitutional and legal."

"The People's Assembly accepted the constitutional and legal interpretation and the military-political explanation for changing the headquarters of the Serb Republic Army into the headquarters of the supreme command, and the nomination of General Mladic to the highest state leadership," Minister Toholj said, adding that "the Assembly concluded that all generals must respect the Constitution and laws of the republic."

According to Toholj, all the deputies, except for five independents who abstained, voted for this Assembly decision.

"The situation and the latest developments in the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] show the tragic face and consequences of what some circles in Belgrade are doing and hankering after, beginning with the blockade along the Drina," Toholj warned, stressing that "bearing this in mind, the Assembly energetically supported all President Karadzic's decisions."

"The formation of the Supreme Command headquarters, which is led by the Chief of Staff," according to Toholj, "creates a system of command which is in accordance with the system of all armies in the world, including the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

The Serb Republic information minister appealed to the media in the Federal Republic: "if it will not help, at least it should not retaliate by launching a propaganda campaign against the Serb Republic. Both in the East and in the West there is a desire to see dramatic splits in the Serb Republic, but we are sure that these will not come about," Minister Toholj concluded.

RS Government Discusses War Measures 4 Aug

LD0508061795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 4 August (SRNA)—At its emergency session in Pale this evening the government of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS] discussed further tasks in organizing and securing the functioning of state bodies, the economy, and the social sector under conditions of war.

Within the framework of the above agenda item, the government adopted a number of resolutions including the resolution to set up district war commissions [povereništvo], the resolution on relinquishing fuel for the defense of the RS, the resolution to finance medals and decorations, and the resolution regulating the functioning of state enterprises, institutions, and financial organizations of interest to the republic under conditions of war.

Under the resolution, district war commissions will be appointed by the government from the ranks of ministers, deputy ministers, republic officials, or rather top administration officials.

The district war commission will coordinate the work of the wartime municipal presidency and will permanently cooperate with it and with the commands of units in the field. The commission will be responsible to the government and will be expected to submit reports on its work regularly or at least once week.

Under the government decision, state enterprises, institutions and financial organizations declared as being of importance to the republic will continue to work under conditions of war. It also passed a decision identifying economic and other entities in a number of spheres of importance for the functioning of the republic in conditions of war.

Speaking about new financial laws under war conditions, Finance Minister Ranko Pejic pointed out that the laws were far more restrictive than the current ones and were diverting budgetary funds for defense needs.

According to him, the new Law on Taxation Under War Conditions has come into force raising the tax rate from the current three percent to five percent.

"The wartime budget will not cover the institutions to which the law on income and expenditure in conditions of war applied. Under the lottery games law, these games are being discontinued," Pejic explained and went

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on to add that all the new laws concerning finances had come into force on 1 August.

This evening the government also adopted the draft law on the official use of language and script. This will be submitted to the Assembly for adoption.

Under the draft law on the use of language and script, teaching in schools and preschool institutions will be in the Ekavian literary pronunciation.

State bodies as well as enterprises, institutions, and other legal entities and persons employed in the media are obliged to issue documents in or use Cyrillic script.

Milenko Karisik, deputy internal affairs minister, submitted a report about the situation in Srebrenica following the liberation of the town and the restoration of civilian authorities there.

Today's emergency session of the government was attended by the president of the Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, and parliamentary Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik.

RS Assembly Views Military, Political Situation

AU0608190095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mihajlovic] Representatives of the Assembly of the Serb Republic [RS] have been discussing behind closed doors the military and political situation in the RS and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] for over three hours now. This is the central item on the agenda of today's 52d session of the state assembly, at which political conclusions concerning the defense of the RS and the RSK from the Ustasha and Muslim aggressions should be made, and the decision should be passed on the measures that must be taken to protect the civilians in danger and the territory.

During the break, Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik commented to us on what has been going on.

[Begin recording] Apart from the current problems, which involve the verification of the mandate of a certain number of representatives who replaced others, and their taking oath, we discussed the main item, which is the military and political situation.

This item is still being discussed; the discussion concerns the war that is being waged in the western part of our RSK, and the refugee problems that have arisen. We will continue to [passage indistinct] [end recording]

[Mihajlovic] Before today's session began, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the RS and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, briefly commented on the current military and political situation.

[Begin recording] In the RS, we have mainly been successful in the Glamoc and Grahovo area, while the situation in the south of the RSK is very bad, since Croatians have moved very deep into the territory. However, in Lika, Banija, and Kordun, the RSK Army is fighting very well, and I have ordered that Mladic establish communication [words indistinct] help. We will not accept any results of the aggression; we will defend the Krajina as a whole and retrieve what we can sooner or later. [end recording]

[Mihajlovic] The session began a little before 1100 [0900 GMT] with the information on the implementation of the conclusions of the RS Assembly, after which the mandate of five new representatives was verified. After that, with the deputy public prosecutors and some of the main court judges, representatives Jovan Tintor from Sarajevo, Tomislav Batinic from Rogatica, Momcilo Komljenovic from Kotor Varos, Milenko Stanic from Vlasenica, and Bosko Maricic from Brcko took the oath. After that, the discussion of the military and political situation started, and it is still under way.

Apart from the president of the RS, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, Deputy Presidents Dr. Biljana Plavsic and Dr. Nikola Koljevic, Prime Minister Dusan Kozic, government members, and representatives of the RS Army, Lieutenant General Milan Gvero and Major General Zdravko Tolimir, episcope of the [word indistinct]-Herzegovina and Skenderija, Mr. Atanasije, and other guests are also attending the session.

Appeals to FRY, Serbia

LD0708010295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2255 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 6 Aug (SRNA)—The People's Assembly of the Serb Republic sent a letter this evening to the assemblies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro, in which they drew attention to the seriousness of the moment for the whole of the Serb nation and appealed for the adoption of urgent decisions to defend the territory and people of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

We carry the full text of the letter from the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic:

"Respected deputies, dear brothers: Over the past few days, which count among the most difficult in the history of our nation, we address you as our closest relatives and brothers.

"We are quite sure that it is absolutely clear to you, as it is to us, that today the survival of the whole Serb nation is threatened both biologically and in spiritual terms.

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"What is happening to Serbs in the RSK and in parts of the Serb Republic is only the realization of the complete scenario of the destruction of the Serb nation as a whole. It is only the geographical position of the RSK and parts of the Serb Republic that has now exposed this part of the Serb nation to physical extermination.

"We do not wish on this occasion to recall any of our, or your, mutual and international obligations and agreements. We would simply like to remind you of the human, God-given, duty to help your brothers who are in mortal danger.

"Starting from the fact that you are the only true friend in the universe, we at this time expect you, for your part, to do everything in your power to establish pan-Serb unity.

"As you yourselves know and see, in the defense of freedom, honor, and the name of Serbs, we do not complain about our lives, but as the greatest Serb poet says: (?Small hands, small power) [malo rukah, malena i snaga].

"Therefore, we expect that when our vigor fades, you will help us.

"To tell the truth, we not only expect this help but are convinced that you will not fail us. It is almost the last chance to give us this help.

"Never in the history of the Serb nation have its most responsible leaders left a single part of the Serb nation and abandoned it to its deadly enemies. We are convinced that this will not happen this time either.

"Convinced that in these most difficult days you, as the most responsible legal representatives of the Serb nation, will adopt decisions commensurate with our history and that of our forefathers and in honor of our descendants, decisions urgently to defend the territory and people of the RSK, we send you brotherly greetings," the letter from the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic to the parliaments of the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro says in conclusion.

Approves Decrees, Recesses

LD0708034295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2220 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 6 Aug (SRNA)—The 52d session of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic ended on Mt. Jahorina this evening with the approval of a series of legal acts and decrees in the sphere of jurisprudence and the economy.

The Assembly approved a draft law on changes and addenda to the law on the rights of those disabled in the war and of the families of killed soldiers, a draft law on changes to the customs' law, and a draft law on fire protection. [passage omitted]

5th Corps Pushes Abdic, RSK Army Toward Border

AU0708083095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vrnograc, Marjanovac, and several villages [word indistinct], that is, some 30 villages in the Cazin and Velika Kladusa Municipalities have been placed under our control.

The 5th Corps is successfully pushing back Martic's and Abdic's paramilitary formations toward the Bosnia-Herzegovina border. It is only a question of time before the units of the 5th Corps, which are already at the access points to Velika Kladusa, enters this town. Only the worst extremists are still offering resistance, united with remnants of Martic's routed paramilitary formations.

Today a large number of members of the Velika Kladusa forces have been continuing to give themselves up to the fighters of the 5th Corps.

Simultaneously, Karadzic's Chetniks have been attacking the defense lines at (Turski Kozjen) from the area of Gorjevac and from deep within Mt. Igman. Fierce artillery, tank, and infantry clashes have been under way since this morning.

Abdic Forces Defect

LD0508133595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to reports from Bihac, after the appeal by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, soldiers from Abdic's formations [rebel Muslims] are switching en masse to the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Military Council]. In the process, in several places they have clashed with Serb paramilitary units which tried to prevent this. Several hundred soldiers in western Bosnia are now fighting on the side of the defenders.

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UN: Krajina Offensive 'Clearly Not Clean'

AU0708122695 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report on interview with UN Spokesman Christopher Gunness by Hartmut Fiedler in Zagreb on 7 Aug]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chris Gunness is viewing the Croatian campaign in Krajina very critically. The UN spokesman does not believe Croatian statements that everything was very clean and very bloodless. He says that there are about 150,000 people leaving the Krajina. In his view, all of them are victims. In addition, there is evidence that some houses in Knin were looted. This may not have been the official line, but this is what happened. Then there is the proven incident when seven Danish UN soldiers were used on 4 and 5 August as human shields. They were surrounded by the advancing Croatian troops to prevent the Serbs from attacking.

UN officials are conducting their own investigations, but this illustrates that there are uncontrolled elements in this offensive. This was not the clean campaign that, rumor has it, the diplomatic community allowed Croatia or encouraged Croatia to go forward with, if it was clean; but the campaign was clearly not clean, says Gunness.

Can the mass flight of the Serbs be compared to the expulsion of people from Bosnia? Chris Gunness: Not the sort of ethnic cleansing that we saw in Bosnia on the part of the Serbs, where people were taken out of their houses and the houses were set on fire, and people were killed in their homes. We did not see this dimension of inhumanity. On the other hand, we saw in the offensive in western Slavonia in May that the Croats wanted to expel people to solve the problem of the expelled Croats.

Gunness says that we are now facing a situation with approximately 150,000 people leaving Krajina. That is probably because their houses were attacked by the Croats on 5 August at 0500 local time. Towns and villages across Krajina were shelled while people were sleeping in their homes. These people do not feel secure.

Chris Gunness says that this is very much in the Croatian Government's interest. One of the hot political issues in Croatia concerns the expelled Croats, approximately 350,000 people. This will be a big issue in the next elections. The Croats said that they intended to settle thousands of people in western Slavonia, people who had to leave their homes after the outbreak of the war in 1991. He thinks that once the turmoil in Krajina has ebbed away, we will see similar developments there. Hundreds of thousands of people could be settled here.

Did Croatia bring about the mass flight of the Serbs deliberately? Gunness: It is really difficult to say that and the Croatian Government, certainly taking international pressure into account, says that the people can of course stay. But, would you want to stay if you were attacked by an army while you were asleep? Would you trust in social justice and human rights being guaranteed? I do not know whether this was an intentional policy. But the result is the same: People flee because they are afraid.

Is Croatia waging a dirty war? The war in the Balkans has been extremely uncivilized, says Gunness. International law has always been totally ignored. The Serbs are definitely guilty. Think of the ethnic cleansing in Zepa and Srebrenica or earlier. What we saw in the Krajina, measured by civilized forms of war, and there are such forms, is far from being satisfactory.

Tudjman Briefs Media on 'Successful Operations'

LD0508224195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, accompanied by Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic, and other close aides, tonight visited the Operations Center of the Croatian Army General Staff. Glowing with delight over the successful unfolding of the operation to liberate Croatia's occupied areas, the president replied to several questions.

[Begin recording] [Tudjman] This kind of success, I share the admiral's view that this is one of the more successful operations in terms of military history.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, are you tired, how do you feel?

[Tudjman] Whenever I face new tasks, I have been doing this for quite a while, I am never exhausted. I am feeling all right.

[Correspondent] Are you satisfied with the speed of the operation, it has been unfolding faster than expected?

[Tudjman] As you heard, perhaps you have not heard, as we, my military commanders, were reviewing this at an expanded meeting I said, I predicted that it would be going faster than they themselves had planned. We departed from the view that we could start liberating the occupied areas, that in so doing we were not going to widen the conflict in European and even global proportions, something some of our friends in the world feared.

[Correspondent] Croatia's citizens unreservedly, with delight and unanimity, accept all your decisions.

[Tudjman] The citizens of Croatia accept them with delight, but I hear quite often from common people,

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women, and not only women, but some professors too who say, well, we congratulate, we welcome this success, but why, we should have done this earlier. Had it been possible at an earlier stage we would have done so. It was not possible at any earlier stage though, for both political and international, as well as internal reasons, most of all because of our military strength. We had to create an army capable of doing something like this. We also needed the right kind of international circumstances for this. As you know, this time they have also threatened us, telling us we must not launch this kind of operation.

[Correspondent] Another question for you in your capacity as supreme commander. This operation is already believed to be on its way into the textbooks because of its brilliance and pace. Obviously, we have created a respectable army in four years.

[Tudjman] Yes, we have, clearly, this is one of those successes that has to be paid for by the whole nation. We had to earmark large funds from the State Budget. We have also done another fascinating thing, something the world did not expect. One should note, that this has been done by Croatian people under guidance, and that military representatives, including those diplomats who know a bit about military matters, when they were watching our Army's parade on statehood day, the fifth anniversary, they said, well, this hardware, despite your being under the embargo, hardware can be bought, but you cannot buy such people.

This is the essential thing. This Croatian man who has experienced national revival and who was ready to consolidate his freedom and defend it. This is something that has also been demonstrated by the military leaders, ranging from the lowest rank officers to the top brass. We had only a few shortcomings in this respect. Understandably, we still face the task of advancing our defense capabilities. [end recording]

Defense Ministry Holds News Conference

LD0608003495 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 5 Aug 95

[News conference by Major General Ivan Tolj, Croatian Defense Ministry spokesman, wit. 'oreign and domestic correspondents, at the Zagreb Intercontinental Hotel—live, in Serbo-Croatian with passage-by-passage translation into English; where indicated, the correspondents spoke in English; transcribed from the English]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Tolj] Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to tell you the glad news, and I think that this is glad news for Croatia and for the world. The Croatian Armed forces have liberated Benkovac 10 minutes ago. As you know, the operation started on the 4 August at 0500. The purpose of the operation was to liberate the occupied areas of Croatia. After the liberation of western Slavonia, the self-styled Yugoslav Army and the self-styled Republic of Krajina, the Republic of Serb Krajina, strengthened their forces considerably.

The Croatian forces which, as everyone has been able to see, are well organized and well trained, started an operation according to a well-elaborated plan. The operation was successful from the very first day. We managed to succeed in penetrating the defense lines of the enemy and started taking very important facilities and territories. In this way, very favorable operational and tactical situations was created for the carrying out of this operation.

I would like to inform you that so far, our actions, our operation has proceeded at double as fast as we had expected.

The Croatian Armed Forces have carried out 80 percent of said task, the taking of Knin. The medieval fortress of Knin is now flying the Croatian flag.

We have the cut very important communications lines, Obravac-Knin, Obravac-Gracac, Gospic-(?Dubica) and Dubica-Kostajnica. [Tolj says in Serbo-Croatian: Drnis-Knin, Obravac-Gracac, Gospic-Ljubovo, Gospic-Gracac, and Dubica-Kostajnica]

I don't need to tell you that the Croatian Army will carry out the said task within the planned time.

I would like to tell you something about the enemy forces. In this operation the Croatian Army has had to face the 7th Knin Corps, consisted of 10,000 men, the 15th Lika Corps, which numbered 15,000 men, as well as the 21st Corps and the 39th Corps. I am mentioning only the major enemy troops.

These are historic days for Europe, for Croatia, for Europe and the whole world. Croatia has now shown what it really is; it is on organized and democratic state. And like in the operation in western Slavonia, here too our priority was to take care and look after civilians.

The floor is now open for questions, unfortunately, we do not have much time.

[Correspondent] What is the name of the operation?

[Tolj] You will learn about it later.

[Correspondent] Is the Croatian Army going to continue the operation, are they taking Knin, Benkovac? Is it going to enter Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tolj] As you know, the 5th Corps of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been fighting too, and this afternoon

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at about 1700 the Croatian and Bosnian forces have linked up at the frontier between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bihac has been saved. The Croatian Army has done what we believe the world had to do.

[Correspondent, in English] How many prisoners of war and killed in the battle now?

[Tolj] I can't give you the precise information because the operation is still underway, but I can tell you that the Croatian losses are minimal.

[Correspondent, in English] Is the intention of the Croatian Army to liberate the whole of the Krajina in this operation, and could you specifically say what is happening to the South of Karlovac, which is an area you have not mentioned. Is there any action there that you can tell us about?

[Tolj] What is called Krajina is practically liberated. I have told you that we have carried out 80 percent of the task.

[Correspondent, in English] Will you pull your troops out of Bosnia afterwards ...?

[Previous correspondent, interrupting, in English] What about Karlovac, the second part of the question? Can he give us an indication, he has not mentioned one area in the north which is to the south of Karlovac. What is happening there?

[Tolj] The end of the operation. The operation is being brought to an end.

[Interrupted correspondent, in English] Can you say what you will do with your troops in Bosnia? Will you pull your troops out of Bosnia, since your operation seems to be nearly complete, from what you are saying? Will you pull the troops out of Bosnia now?

[Tolj] The Croatian Army is not officially in Bosnia. The Croatian people have an army in Bosnia-Herzegovina and this is called the Croatian Defense Council. According to the Washington Agreement and the Split Declaration, the Croatian Army helped the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnian Army.

[Correspondent, in English] How many Croatian Serbs have fled to Bosnia? I am talking about the troops. And what kind of armaments did they take with them?

[Tolj] You have heard...I have told you about what kind of might we had to face there. These forces are totally destroyed.

[Correspondent, in English] How many have fled? You have not told us....

[Tolj, laughing] You cannot count heads in such an operation. It is not a football pitch.

[Correspondent, in English] [words indistinct] place to watch the borders, to see how many troops are moving there?

[Tolj] To tell you quite frankly, we would like to escape or to flee all of them, and we don't like to see anyone killed.

[Correspondent] How did the Serbian civilians meet the Croatian Army as it entered Knin?

[Tolj] In the way you meet victors.

[Correspondent] The 20 percent, what does that refer to?

[Tolj] I can't tell you.

[Correspondent, in English] How long are you expecting the operation to last?

[Tolj] Does it seem too long? This is day two of the operation.

[Correspondent, in English] Yeah, but he said that it was going faster than expected, and what was the time frame?

[Tolj] I told you everything.

[Correspondent] Can you tell us something about the situation in Petrinja and Glina?

[Tolj] All these towns are about to be liberated.

[Correspondent] [What about] air raids in Vinkovci in Slavonia?

[Tolj] We think these are only provocations.

[Correspondent, in English] What is the situation in (?Slavonia) and do you expect any guerrilla action from Serbs who have retreated into the mountain areas?

[Tolj] I have told you that the operation is still underway.

[Correspondent] What is your information about the Fikret Abdic forces?

[Tolj] According to reliable sources, the major part of these troops are crossing over to the Bosnian Army.

[Correspondent, in English] Are you worried about a regrouping of the Serbs the combined Bosnian Serb and Croat Serb forces, are you worried about a counterattack at some point in the coming days, and how long do you think before this operation is fully complete?

[Tolj] We are not worried about it at all. We planned, we thought about this possibility before we started the operation.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

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[Tolj, laughing] I am answering this question for the third time.

[Correspondent] Could you give us some information about the situation in Bihac?

[Tolj] The situation is calming down.

[Correspondent] Do you have any information about the aircraft from Udbina? Where are they going to discharge their [word indistinct]?

[Tolj] This has helped that they haven't done it.

[Correspondent, in English] You said today that the Danish commander said that the Croatian Army had nothing to do with the death of the peacekeeper, but the United Nations insist today that he was deliberately targeted. What is your response to this?

[Tolj] This is not the first time that the representatives of the United Nations say something and then later turns out to be false, to be wrong. In the operation [word indistinct] one thing was said by the United Nations, and another by the European monitors. I can say with full responsibility that the Armed Forces of Croatia have really been very careful so that nothing would happen to the peacekeepers. We have informed them about the operation in advance, and we have warned them that the situation from Bosnia could be repeated, they could be taken hostages by the Serbs.

[Correspondent, in English] Are you sticking to the story then that this Danish peacekeeper was taken by the Serbs and was tied to his tank, and that's why he was killed?

[Tolj] Yes, I do.

[Correspondent, in English] Can you describe the situation in Knin, who is there, actually? Are there Serbs there?

[Tolj] You know that in his address to the Serbs in Krajina, President Tudjman called on them to stay at home and wait for the liberation and to stay and live in Croatia. The Croatian commanders and commanding officers have all received an order to pay great attention to the civilian population.

[Correspondent, in English] That is not an answer. Are there still Serb civilians in Knin?

[Tolj] You know that this morning the civilian population was still being evacuated from Knin because of Serbian propaganda. Those who have stayed are quite safe.

[Correspondent] Where is Martic and his group?

[Tolj] He is not in Knin. You can suppose where he is, you can guess.

[Correspondent, in English] What happened to the rocket launchers in [words indistinct] (?target) in Zagreb?

[Tolj] You see the results I have been describing. The situation is changing drastically.

[Correspondent, in English] Are they definitely [words indistinct] Are the rocket launchers out of range now, or are they still a threat to Zagreb?

[Tolj] The operation is still in force and anything is possible while it lasts. But the possibilities of their targeting and reaching Zagreb, hitting Zagreb, are much smaller. It would be crazy, and it wouldn't mean anything in military terms. So it would only be a crime the activities from the operation [word indistinct] would be repeated. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] When will journalists be allowed in Knin?

[Tolj] We will open the information route as soon as possible. We wanted to open one today, but we have been warned that there is danger of snipers and mines.

[Correspondent] Where did you want to open this route, this channel?

[Tolj, laughing] Do you want me to tell you? Where the armed forces of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are linked up at the Croatian-Bosnia-Herzegovinian border. You may see it on television tomorrow.

[Correspondent] This is a good moment to tell us about the military significance of the linkup of the Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian forces.

[Tolj] I'll be very brief. Nothing will be as it was before. Any dream of a Greater Serbia, any dream of neoexpansionism has fallen through, is destroyed.

[Correspondent, in English] What about the civilians that are in the UN base in Knin? There are apparently several hundred there. One of the UN commanders there said there are 70 or 80 that are quite badly wounded and need medical attention. Can you say what is happening there and are you prepared to allow medical attention and to try to help these refugees to escape the area?

[Tolj] Normalization of all aspects of life in all liberated areas.

[Correspondent] Has any Serbian unit suggested peace negotiations?

[Tolj] None. They have chosen to flee. I'll see you tomorrow. That is all. [Tolj starts to walk out, and is handed a photograph] Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the hospital in Ogulin. [Tolj holds up a picture of a damaged

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building] So much for civilian targets. [Tolj returns to podium] And can you target an ambulance with the sign of the Red Cross, and kill two doctors and two nurses? [Tolj exits the conference room]

UN Not Used as Human Shields

AU0608104995 Paris AFP in English 1029 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 6 (AFP)—Croatia denied Sunday [6 August] that its troops forced UN peacekeepers and captured Croatian Serb soldiers to march in front of advancing troops during an offensive in Serb-held Krajina. The United Nations had said that seven Danish peacekeepers had been used as human shields on Friday and Saturday, the first two days of the Croatian offensive to retake territory held by Croatian Serbs.

Asked about the report, Croatian Defence Ministry spokesman General Ivan Tolj said he thought that it was unfounded. "My personal opinion is that it is not true," the spokesman said, promising an investigation. "If it is proved, we will take all the necessary steps to punish those who did it."

UN spokesman Chris Gunness had called the use of peacekeepers as human shields a "a condemnable, an atrocious incident involving the Croatian Army. Seven Danish soldiers were ordered by a battalion commander, we actually have his name and we have his regiment, to leave their shelter and hand over their weapons. Afterwards, the Danish peacekeepers were forced to walk in front of a battalion attack together with three Krajina Serb soldiers," he said in a telephone interview from Zagreb with CNN television.

"The next day, the same thing happened. (Danish) soldiers were ordered to walk in front of the attacking Croatian soldiers for two hours, this time together with six Krajina Serb prisoners," Gunness said.

Croatian spokesman Tolj said that the United Nations had been forced to admit that allegations that Croatians were responsible for atrocities during their operation to take back parts of eastern Croatia in early May were largely unfounded. "There were similar accusations and after some time it was obvious that those accusations were not true," he said.

One Danish peacekeeper was killed and three Poles injured when Croatian troops launched their offensive against rebel Serbs in the Krajina region of Croatia on Friday.

Hundreds more were caught up in the fighting and Croatian soldiers forced about 100 more were forced away from observation posts on the demarcation line between Croatia and Krajina. More than 10,000 troops from 11 nationalities make up the peacekeeping team in Croatia, known as the UN Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO).

RSK 'No Longer Exists'

AU0608172495 Paris AFP in English 1658 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 6 (AFP)—The Republic of Serb Krajina declared by Serb separatists in Croatia "no longer exists" after the success of a three-day government military offensive, Croatian Defence Ministry Spokesman Ivan Tolj said Sunday [6 August].

Tolj called on "the last Serb die-hards" to surrender in order to avoid "a blood-bath."

Serb forces in the region of Topusko, 50 kilometres (30 miles) south of Zagreb, were "totally surrounded, and if they do not surrender tomorrow (Monday) we will go in and sort them out," he warned.

The Croatian Armed Forces have "completed their task from a strategic point of view" and had suffered "minimal losses," he added.

Authorities Urge Krajina Serbs Not To Leave

LD0508143995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian Army has opened two routes for all those Serb civilians who want to leave this area, the road to Srb is open on the south side, and the road to Dvor Na Uni in the north. Despite the Serb propaganda and its efforts to scare the Serb population, the Croatian authorities, in line with yesterday's appeal by President Tudjman to the Serb population in Croatia's occupied areas, are calling on Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality not to leave their homes and their homeland, where respect for their human rights is guaranteed, as is the protection of their property.

Cease-Fire; Krajina To Surrender Heavy Weapons

AU0708072695 Paris AFP in English 0720 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 7 (AFP)—Croatia and separatist Serbs on Monday [7 August] signed a UN-brokered cease-fire agreement in the breakaway Krajina region, which is now controlled by the Croatian Army, a UN spokeswoman said. Under the deal, Serb fighters are to turn over all their heavy weapons in an operation to be supervised by UN peacekeepers in Croatia. "An agreement was reached this morning between the United Nations, the so-called RSK (Republic

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of Serb Krajina) and the Croatian Army, for the Serbs to withdraw," the spokeswoman said.

The United Nations will set up weapons collection points and traffic control checkpoints throughout the northern sector of the former Serb Krajina, she added. "The RSK has agreed to hand over all heavy weapons to the United Nations. The soldiers will be allowed to keep their side arms and leave with them," the spokeswoman, who requested anonymity, said.

The United Nations will help the about 80,000 Serbs in the north of Krajina escape into Serb-controlled areas in neighbouring Bosnia, she said. UN lorries will be provided to facilitate the withdrawal which was expected to take place over 96 hours starting immediately. A Belgian UN general has been sent from Zagreb to take charge of the operation for the UN, the spokeswoman said. She was not immediately able to provide the general's name.

The cease-fire officially concludes Zagreb's three-day offensive to retake control of Krajina, the region of about one-fifth of Croatian territory on which Serbs declared their breakaway republic in late 1991.

Serbs Reportedly Taking Weapons

AU0708103295 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] ZAGREB, Aug 7 (AFP)—Rebel Serb soldiers still in the Krajina region south of Zagreb have started to surrender to the Croatian Army, a Defence Ministry spokesman said. "The handing over of weapons started shortly after 9:00 a.m. (0700 GMT)," General Ivan Tolj said. [passage omitted]

Tolj said: "We agreed to cease-fire on condition that they (the Serbs) leave behind most of the weapons with which they had fired on our civilians and towns." He accused the UN operation of not being "vigilant" in monitoring the handing over of weapons and said some Serb soldiers had left Croatia with their heavy arms. [passage omitted]

The Croatians now claim to control all of the former Serb-held Krajina region, save for a small wedge of territory south of Zagreb. [passage omitted]

Ministry on Serb Air Strikes

LD0708104295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0806 GMT 7 Aug 95

[News conference given by Major General Tolj, head of the political administration of the Croatian Defense Ministry, at the Intercontinental Hotel in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tolj] Good morning. Before I tell you any more about new developments in the zones of operation of the Croatian Armed Forces and Police, I must draw your attention to the fact that last night at 1930 [1730 GMT], from Mahovljani, outside Banja Luka, two rebel terrorist aircraft took off and used 57-mm shells to attack industrial facilities. As you know, there is a large chemical complex in Kutina. This is international terrorism without precedence, and an attempt in this area and in Europe to trigger off an ecological war. At 2053 [1853 GMT], the enemy attacked the town of Karlovac, firing an entire multiple-rocket charge. The damage caused is enormous, and five people were wounded. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Tolj, can you answer two questions. The planes that took off from Banja Luka: You said they attacked the area of Kutina. Explosions have been heard in the vicinity of Zagreb. Have they by any chance dropped any kind of load near Velika Gorica. And another questions: What is the situation like in the area of Vidusevac?

[Tolj] That was an act of international terrorism. It was an attempt. They have violated all no-fly bans. In other words we are facing the kind of people prepared to do anything. Our duty is to draw attention to this. The Croatian state has an answer to that as well. That is the Croatian Army. I hope that this is their last attempt. You will be able to see this for yourselves.

While I am telling you this, Karadzic's paramilitaries and pilots have again been in action against civilian targets in Novska, Pozega, and Sisak. I think that in view of this they should be charged with international terrorism, and that Europe, the world, and NATO should do something in this case. [passage omitted]

Let us look at the situation in our zone of operation. As you were informed last night, the operation to integrate Croatian occupied state territories in the former Sector North and Sector South is near completion. All enemy corps have been totally routed, there is a chaotic situation in their system, their system of communications and command has been completely destroyed. The 21st Kordun Corps has been encircled, and I wish to tell you that overnight an agreement has been reached between the head of the General Staff,

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Corps General Cervenko, and rebels' representatives, under UN Confidence Restoration Operation auspices, under which they accepted all conditions of surrender.

We have accepted total cease-fire. Technical preparations are underway, but under one condition only: That all their military hardware, which they used to threaten, you see, civilian population, civilian authorities, and our towns, is left behind. [passage omitted]

Cease-Fire Collapses

AU0708121495 Paris AFP in English 1216 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 7 (AFP)—A UN-brokered agreement for the surrender and withdrawal of rebel Serb soldiers has collapsed after the Croatians accused the Serbs of "tricking" them and said they would resume military operations, a UN official said.

Suspected Bosnian Serb planes flying from Banja Luka in northern Bosnia have also carried out air strikes against five Croatian towns, four of them early Monday, the official said.

Tudjman Visits Knin After 'Liberation'

LD0608192195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia and supreme commander, today visited the ancient Croatian town of Knin, which was liberated yesterday. Here are our correspondents' reports. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The president arrived accompanied by his wife and Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Can you comment on this historic day?

[Tudjman] We have had several historic days in the process of establishing the free and independent Croatian state, but this is an exceptional historic day. We are in Knin, the residence of Croatian King Zvonimir. This means more than just the liberation of Croatian territory or a Croatian town. This means creating conditions for the stability of the Croatian state for centuries to come. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] How does it feel to be here, Mr. President?

[Tudjman] How do I feel? I feel like every Croatian man who has been dreaming about Croatia being free, about every foot of its land being free. Of course, we have had dreams about Knin because Knin was the capital of Croatian kings, the residence of King Zvonimir, and they turned Knin and this area into the center, stronghold, and lair of the Chetnik spirit of the kind that did not exist almost anywhere else in the notorious former Yugoslavia.

So, the liberation of Knin is a historic act and today is a historic date in the process of establishing the free and independent Croatian state. But this has a deeper meaning: Only now when Knin is liberated have we created conditions for the stability of the Croatian state and the Croatian people in the future.

Conditions have also been created for Croatia to have more normal borders with the neighboring areas where the Croatian Army also scored successes over the past few days, successes that helped liberate Knin and that have created conditions for solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] Can you comment on this most glorious success of the Croatian Army?

[Tudjman] This success is the final result of everything we have created in the process of establishing the free and independent Croatian state. It was the result of the maturity of the Croatian people and their readiness to sacrifice for their army, their Armed Force; the result of the political awareness and high morale of the Croatian people, and of the plans put forward by military commanders at our meeting last week when I approved them and made the final decision on the liberation.

We had to carry out this operation with utmost care, we had to allow for fierce enemy resistance. But I told the commanders: They are so demoralized and aware of the hopelessness of their position, that you should be ready to enter Knin and other towns earlier than planned. This came true.

[Correspondent] What are the reactions in the world?

[Tudjman] As usual, the world and every power, let us be realistic, there is the democratic world, but there are also certain players that make more decisions on the future of the world than others, the world wanted us to remain idle, to hold negotiations. The world was afraid that our military operation to liberate the occupied areas would cause war, so even our friends in the world advised us not to go ahead.

I made the decision to go ahead, rightly judging that we have had enough negotiations, that now was an opportune moment to launch the operation. The world, the objective and democratic world, applauds us. Those who were not favorably inclined toward us nowadays must recognize Croatia as a regional power without which there can be no discussion about the international

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order and the situation in this part of Europe. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin Tudjman recording] The Croatian flag unfurled here means that we have completed the deed of establishing the free and independent Croatian state and its territorial integrity. What remains under occupation is negligible compared to what we have achieved. [end recording]

UNPROFOR Restricted to Base

LD0508161295 Paris LCI Television in French 1500 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croat flag is flying over Knin this afternoon. The capital of the breakaway Krajina Serbs was conquered by Zagreb only 36 hours after the start of the offensive. There are no pictures yet, but we do have this comment by General Alain Forand, chief of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Knin:

[Begin Forand recording) Around 1230, the Croats took complete control of the town. They began their invasion at about 1000 this morning. It was around that time that we went out into the town for the last time, and we managed to evacuate the remaining wounded to the Knin hospital, here at the UN base, and to pick up a few refugee civilians and bring them here.

For the moment, it is impossible for us to visit the town to see if they are carrying out what is called in English, ethnic cleansing, because we are restricted to our base. And we [word indistinct] even more that the women picked up in the town.

As for that aspect, I think they have received relatively strict orders. I spoke to the commander who has our camp surrounded, and they have received orders not to touch UN personnel who are here in this sector. He knew exactly where we were, but he is preventing us, nonetheless, from checking what is happening in the town. [end recording]

UN Accuses Troops of Looting

AU0608135395 Paris AFP in English 1348 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 6 (AFP)—The United Nations on Sunday [6 August] accused the Croatian Army of looting the former Serb stronghold of Knin and demanded that peacekeepers be allowed access to all Croatian-held areas. "The situation in Knin is desperate," said UN spokesman Christopher Gunness, who reported "significant looting" by Croatian army soldiers on Saturday. "Five areas of the town are ablaze. There are reports of bodies in the streets. Facilities are very badly damaged," he added.

UN soldiers in the town had witnessed the looting, Gunness said, citing a report from a UN commander in Knin, which was overrun by the Croatian Army midday Saturday. He said that the United Nations had demanded "immediate access" to all areas taken by Croatian Armed Forces in their three-day assault on Serb-held territory in eastern and southern Croatia. "At present, there are many areas where the Croatian army is blocking access," he said.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi was expected later Sunday to sign an agreement with Croatian presidential aide Hrvoje Sarinic establishing the UN role in monitoring the human rights situation and providing humanitarian aid in areas overrun by the Croatian offensive. The United Nations has set up human rights monitoring teams and aims to have them in the areas under Croatian Army control within 24 to 36 hours, Gunness said.

The spokesman denied that the reports of looting, almost certain to worsen the already poor relations between Zagreb and the United Nations, were similar to those made in May accusing Croatian troops who captured a Serb-held region eastern Croatia of looting and rights atrocities. The bulk of those accusations were later withdrawn.

The United Nations said meanwhile that the latest reports it had suggested that 35,000 refugees had fled to neighbouring Bosnia and 10,000 displaced people were in at Topusko, an area under Serb control.

Only 800 Serbs Remain

LD0508181095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Our correspondents are reporting from Knin, the ancient royal Croatian town. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] According to our estimates, about 800 Croatian Serbs have remained in the town. Intimidated by Serb propaganda, 400 of them have sought refuge in the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] barracks on which, UNCRO Colonel Leslie says, not a single shell landed today. Also in the barracks are patients from Knin hospital, to whom Colonel Ivan Zelic guaranteed that they would be returned to hospital wards and treated in accordance with doctor's ethics and international wartime law. Of all the doctors, only chief surgeon Igor Torbica remained with his patients.

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Croatian Radio Knin Begins

LD0608173695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Radio Knin began broadcasting at 1700 on frequencies of 90.2 and 104.5 MHz. Programming will include news and reports on establishing civilian life in the Knin area.

Eastern Slavonia Commander Proclaims Mobilization

AU0508125995 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 5 Aug 95 p 8

[Proclamation by General-Major Dusan Loncar, commander of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps: "Fight for Survival"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Citizens of eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja,

Croatia has started a new aggression against the Serbian people, this time in order to complete the defeat which the independent state of Croatia [NDH] started in 1941, with their leader Ante Pavelic and his Ustashas.

The only goal of the latest aggression is to kill and slaughter all Serbs.

No matter how cynical and incredible it might be, in doing this they get the help of some countries which call themselves democratic, or "the Western democracy." Serbian people, when they had to choose between the Ustasha knife and fighting, from 1991 to 1994 chose the fight for mere survival.

What remains for all Serbs to do today, after the fall of Glamoc and Grahovo, is to protect their houses, wives, children, and their lives by arms.

We have all known about and we have waited for the moment when it will come to this final fight. Our people wanted peace, but, watching how a monstrous state was being created, they knew that they would have to fight that monster.

We have nowhere to go from this Serbian land; this is where we were born, and this is where we will die.

If the world sentenced us to fight, then let us fight bravely and heroically, let us forget all but one thing, and that is that we have the Ustasha army before us, which we have to defeat. Citizens of eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja, I know that now in this fateful moment there are those who struggle for power, who want to infuse disquiet and apprehension. I know that they do it for their own miserly personal interests, or at the order of the Croatian state. I am aware that war profiteers do that as well, who now think of the way to use you and rob you.

In the interest of this people, in the interest of the defense of our houses and the graves of our forefathers, in the interest of the defense of our lives, I will not allow anybody to do anything that might harm our unity and our defensive power. I will take strict measures against all those who act in a destructive way, who cause panics, and do not carry out the orders of their superiors.

The soldiers of the [Slavonia-Baranja] Corps know that they have good weapons, that they have enough ammunition, and that Croatia cannot harm us. We are capable of defending ourselves against a bigger army than the Ustasha army. All we need to do is for all of us to join the fight, and I will take all measures in order to make it happen. All authorities, all institutions, and all parties have only one task now, and that is the contribution to the defense of their people and territory. All orders will be issued exclusively by the commander of the Corps and the newly formed coordinating committee for defense. Nobody in this region will go beyond those limits and act without the orders of this command or this committee, because life and freedom of this people are worth more than any individual.

Brothers and sisters, we have two heavy tasks: to defend our territory, but also to help our Serb brothers in other parts of Krajina and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

The attack on Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, and Banija started with the heavy shelling of our towns. We know that every moment an attack on our region can start as well. Therefore we must all prepare ourselves and be ready for defense, all of us together and every one of us individually.

I am convinced that in the fight which is before us, which will be the heaviest battle for the Serbian people since the battle of Kosovo, we will triumph and finally be able to start living as free people.

Brothers and sisters, a moment has come when we all have to take arms, and I am calling all those who have not been distributed in their units by now for some reason, to come to the nearest command post and contribute to our defense.

Region on 'War Footing'

LD0608201095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem have a sufficient number of soldiers and have at their disposal

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all the necessary hardware for the defense of the area and the people, the Slavonia-Baranja Corps headquarters of the Serb Krajina Army announced in Vukovar today.

The statement adds that because of the immediate danger of Croatian aggression in this part of Krajina, life and work are being put on a war footing [ratni rezim]. All available means and resources have been placed at the disposal of the army enterprises have switched over to a war footing, and all cafes have been closed.

The Corps headquarters demands the special involvement of the inhabitants of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem in setting up the functioning of civil protection, especially the provision of a medical service, the accommodation of the volunteers, who are constantly arriving, and the prevention of destructive and hostile actions.

The headquarters statement stresses that a possible Croatian attack on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem would be a difficult but crucial battle, not only for the inhabitants of this area, but for the whole of Serbdom, Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Rocket Exchanges Reported

AU0708093695 Paris AFP in English 0924 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Aug 7 (AFP)—Rebel Serbs and Croatian Army forces in eastern Slavonia traded intermittent mortar and rocket fire Monday [7 August], the UN said, after officials in the Serb-held region declared themselves on a war footing. Some 40 shells hit the village of Klisa on Sunday in the Serb-held sector of far eastern Croatia between the cities of Osijek and Vukovar, a spokeswoman for the UN peacekeeping force there said. She said the shelling continued Monday.

Russian UN troops are based about three kilometres (two miles) from the village, spokeswoman Kirstin Haupt said. "We have no information at the moment as to any damage or casualties in the village," she said. "We had quite a bit of shelling here overnight Friday along the zone of separation and that has continued until today basically, but on a very much lower level," she said.

Exchanges of mortar and rocket fire have continued intermittently over the past two days, the spokeswoman said. [passage omitted] "There is no indication at the moment that it is escalating," Haupt said. "Sector East is the last part of Krajina left which is still functioning and under Serb control, so of course the people are afraid that the attack might continue here, but at the moment we have no clear indications of that," she said. "Of course, one has to think of this as an option," she added.

Krajina's Babic Appeals to United Nations

LD0508122695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1158 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 5 (TANJUG)—The Prime Minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Milan Babic Saturday wrote to the UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali asking that the Security Council stop the genocide over the Serb people in Krajina and ensure a successful conclusion of the peace process.

Pointing out that by launching its military attack, the Republic of Croatia had violated cease-fire agreements and the provisions of the relevant UN resolutions including the Resolution 981, Babic underlined that the attack had not been provoked either by the people, the armed forces or the leadership of the RSK.

Croatian Army fired on August 4 thousands of artillery shells and air raided the towns of Knin, Benkovac, Drnis, Obrovac, Medak, Udbina, Korenica, Plaski, Slunj, Krnjak, Vojnic, Vrginmost, Glina, Petrinja, Dubica and Kostajnica, killing and wounding hundreds of civilians and destroying their homes, the letter says.

Babic pointed out that the RSK government had accepted the Security Council Resolution 981, including the deployment of UN observers at border crossings, the opening of oil pipelines, negotiations on the opening of the Zagreb-Knin-Split railway, political negotiations and refraining from military actions in the Bihac pocket in the former yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Krajina Asks for Help in Evacuating Population

LD0508160395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 5 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug. 5 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina Foreign Minister Milivoj Vojnovic Saturday appealed to the United Nations to help with the evacuation of Serb civilians, children, women, and the elderly, from territories of Serb Krajina threatened by the latest and so far biggest aggression launched by the Croatian Army on Friday morning.

In a letter to UN peace force representative in Belgrade Yuriy Myakotnih, Vojnovic said the Croatian aggression was an example of a war whose objective is the total destruction of urban areas, industrial objects, reserves of food and water, and the murder of as many civilians as possible.

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Vojnovic said that, because of the decision on the urgent evacuation of children, women and the elderly who have fled from destroyed towns and villages into neighboring woods and mountains without water, food, or medicines, the Serb Krajina government expects "UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the Red Cross" to provide immediate aid in transport vehicles.

The Krajina foreign minister asked Myakotnih to inform the UN secretary-general, Security Council, UN Special Envoy for Former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, the UN command in Zagreb, and the cochairmen of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg and Carl Bildt about this humanitarian action to save the lives of civilians.

Underscoring that there was no other way to save the lives of the threatened population, Vojnovic pointed out that the most important thing was to force the Croatian Army to allow the convoys of refugees to pass and to prevent it from repeating crimes like those committed against the refugees who were leaving western Slavonia in early May this year, when thousands of Serb civilians were killed.

Deputy Bosnian Serb Commissioner for Refugees Slobodan Ecimovic told the TANJUG correspondent in Banja Luka that about 20,000 refugees from Serb Krajina had crossed into the Bosnian Serb state during the night.

Ecimovic appealed to all home and international humanitarian organizations, associations and individuals immediately to send aid for the refugees in town of Banja Luka in the northwest of the Bosnian Serb republic.

100,000 Heading for FRY

LD0508162095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 5 Aug (SRNA)—Slobodan Jarcevic, special adviser to the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, told SRNA today that, according to foreign agencies and the testimony of Serb refugees, it was true that the Croatian forces occupied Knin, but that the Serb Army would fight on.

He stressed that all communications with Krajina were cut off because the Croats shelled the telecommunications center, and added that President Martic and members of the government and the general staff of the Krajina Serb Army were somewhere on the ground. [passage omitted]

"Civilian targets were shelled, all traces of life have been wiped out and about 100,000 refugees from Krajina are heading towards the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," he added. [passage omitted]

RSK: NATO Destroyed Krajina Missile Systems

LD0608214195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 6 Aug (SRNA)—The Serb Krajina Army is resisting fierce attacks by the Croatian Army, which has been assisted by certain NATO pact forces, Colonel Kosta Novakovic, assistant commander of the Serb Krajina Army, confirmed to SRNA today.

He specified that the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] is currently fighting in several important regions, above all in Banija and Kordun and in parts of Lika and northern Dalmatia.

"Over the past few days the NATO pact hampered flights by our military aircraft and used its planes to destroy our missile systems. The combat activity of some of our units is intense and they are putting up exceptional resistance to the Croatian occupying forces," Colonel Novakovic said.

Stressing that the Croatians attacked with exceptionally powerful artillery units, the Serb Krajina Army assistant commmander assessed that this "was an inappropriate way of destroying the civilian population and buildings."

"Every withdrawal of our army was planned, and the Supreme Defense Council decided to carry out an evacuation of the population from the northern part of Dalmatia and Lika, and later from other areas which were protected by our units. Later, these withdrew to appropriate positions," Novakovic said and concluded:

"Our soldiers are in the mood for further fighting and the restoration of currently occupied territory." [passage omitted]

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Gligorov Expresses Optimism for Republic's Future

AU0408070695 Skopje MIC in English 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Macedonia's future is optimistic. Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is not faced with the immediate danger of war," said President Gligorov at yesterday's celebration of the national holiday in the village of Bituse. "The discussions by various European and other emissaries, mediators or others, concern only those that are at war. They have nothing to discuss about us. We no longer have anything in common with various conferences about the former Yugoslavia. We determined our future in a legitimate way, without conflicts with our neighbors," pointed out Gligorov.

State Commission Pardons 'Paramilitarists'

AU0508103395 Skopje MIC in English 4 Aug 95

[Names as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The eight convicted in the affair "paramilitary"—Resmi Ejupi, Selam Elmazi, Redzepi Shinazi, Husein Haskaj, Akif Demiri, Abdiseljam Arslani, Burim Murtezani and Eugen Sami—who were sentenced last year before the Municipal court II in Skopje for working against the constitutional order of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], have, according to unofficial sources, been set free on parole.

Eight of the ten convicted "paramilitarists" are being set free because they have served more then one third of their sentences, and because of the positive opinions received from the prison authorities, more precisely because of their good behavior. The first and second accused, Mithat Emini and Hasan Agushi, who have longer prison sentences, will be set free on the suggestion of the State Commission for Pardoning.

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Polish Peacekeepers Said Not Deliberately Targeted

LD0608173195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1638 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 6 Aug—Polish soldiers from the UN peace missions have not been targeted by the warring factions in Croatia, Major Jerzy Jastrzebski, press officer of the MON [Ministry of National Defense] Military Foreign Affairs Department, assured today at a news conference in Warsaw. There are 602 Polish soldiers in the combat zone.

Jastrzebski added that the Polish Blue Helmets were not even arbiters. They rather play a role of onlookers "observing what is going on around. If a shell explodes near their posts it is by chance and not a deliberate hit," he added.

Withdrawal From Croatia Not Being Considered

LD0508112095 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The fate of the Polish soldiers, most probably 27 of them, who as a result of the war have found themselves behind Croat lines is still unknown. The two soldiers wounded in Croatia yesterday, Platoon Leader Wiktor Gaj and Private Marian Niedbala, have already left the hospital in Zagreb, according to Colonel Jozef Kowalczyk of the Foreign Military Affairs Department of the Ministry of National Defense. [passage omitted]

A third wounded soldier, Warrant Officer Jan Kowalewski, commander of an observation post, whose state of health is termed middling, was today taken to the UN Organization Hospital in Zagreb. [passage omitted]

Krzysztof Sliwinski, press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, today told Polish Radio that an immediate evacuation of Polish soldiers would be difficult, both on technical grounds and on account of international obligations:

[Begin Sliwinski recording] Withdrawal is not a matter being directly considered at the moment, for two reasons: first, there is a certain very special technical problem—that is, the way in which they are distributed. They are in narrow, long valleys and are situated between the fighting sides. It is possible, of course, to assure their security by going into shelters.

On the other hand, the second component, important and fairly (?decisive) for Poland, is the fact that the Poles are there on a UN peace mission. International solidarity exists here, as does the loyalty of Poles. The decision must be taken by the UN Organization or the Security Council. This does not of course mean that Poland is forsaking its sovereignty here, but we do wish to coparticipate in this mission.

Second: Intensive contacts have been established, and are being maintained all the time, with the states that have found themselves in a situation precisely like ours—that is, Denmark, the Czech Republic, and Jordan, for their units are also to be found there. So, it is certainly not the case that the Poles will suddenly, by themselves, make the decision that, somehow or another, they are withdrawing from that place. [end recording]

Withdrawal Dependent on UNSC

LD0408165395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Poland makes any decision on the withdrawal of the Polish contingent of the UN peacekeeping forces from Krajina dependent on the position of the UN Security Council, the ministers of defense and foreign affairs, Zbigniew Okonski and Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, reported after today's meeting of the crisis staff in Warsaw at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Minister Bartoszewski said that Poland will suggest to the Security Council that the growing threat to the peacekeeping forces in Krajina makes it impossible for them to carry out the tasks they were given.

Minister Okonski confirmed that the Polish posts in Croatia had been taken. The soldiers there had been released. They were allowed to take their weapons with them.

Walesa Confirms Will Run Again for President

LD0508140095 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has officially announced that he is joining the electoral campaign before the forthcoming elections. In the course of the inauguration of the World Polish Scouting Jamboree, taking place in Zegrze near Warsaw, Lech Walesa told journalists that he had already gathered 100,000 signatures, which oblige him to run, and so he will certainly run.

I no longer have the slightest doubt, stated the president. He reported that he will officially declare this at the legally permitted time, but he no longer has any doubts and he has no choice. He must run.

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Says Statement Misreported

LD0608202295 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1920 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Rzeszow, 6 Aug—There is no force that could make me change my mind about standing for the presidential office again, said Lech Walesa at a news conference in Rzeszow on 6 August.

At the same time, he pointed out that his 5 August statement at the International Scout Jamboree in Zegrze was reported in a wrong way by the Warsaw television journalists. "I said that since 100,000 signatures had already been collected I would certainly stand. However, I shall not enter the election now, but at the time laid down by the law. The television reported that Walesa, as usual, in the morning agrees to do something, and in the afternoon he unagrees," the president said.

When asked whether after entering the election campaign he is prepared, like the other candidates, to take leave, Lech Walesa replied: "There is no legal ruling about this. I am prepared to take a holiday, or even resign from my office for that period, but I do not want to be ridiculous, as I must remain in my post until the end. The president cannot be replaced by another person, like a president of a bank or a chairman of the Supreme Court, or anybody else."

President Walesa's meeting with activists from the Provincial Local Assembly, the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, and the Solidarity of Individual Farmers from Rzeszow Province focused mostly on issues related to the continuing process of reforming the state, and particularly to the consolidation of the role of self-government. There were remarks concerning the settling of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] accounts. The fact that this has not been done was blamed on Solidarity governments and the passiveness of the president. Lech Walesa was accused of surrounding himself with people who "had failed the test" or who were "unpopular with the public."

Oleksy on Reelection Decision

LD0508184395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, commenting on Lech Walesa's decision to run in the coming presidential elections, said he had taken it calmly. The prime minister expressed the fear, however, that Lech Walesa's election campaign would disrupt the normal work of the government. Oleksy announced that he would be making frequent appeals to all candidates to control their emotions and the desire to impress by attacking the government and disowning everything that was happening in Poland. The prime minister pointed out that many good things were happening in Poland.

Commission Reports Reasons for Su-22 Plane Crash

LD0508095395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0600 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A special commission examining the disaster to the Su-22 fighter plane that crashed on 26 July at a military training ground at Nadarzyce in the Pila Voivodship has ruled that the cause was the explosion of a bomb being carried by the plane. The pilot, a major from the 40th Fighter-Bomber Squadron in Swidwin, was killed in the disaster. The armed plane was on a training flight. The determination of the causes of the disaster was made easier since, apart from the black box flight recorder, the commission had available video tapes recording the course of the flight. It was filmed from two cameras, since a new type of armament was under test. Most probably, the bomb fuse failed. The statement of the commission finally precludes a version about pilot error. This was the fourth disaster of a Soviet-made Su-22 this year. The first crashed in April—the pilot managed to eject. The second crashed in May—the pilot died. Two weeks before the disaster in Nadarzyce, two experienced pilots died whilst flying a plane of this type. Commissions then ruled that human error was the cause.

Ministry Official on Draft Arms Trade Law

WS0708081095 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 2 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Tomasz Wasilewski, director of the legal department of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, by Artur Golawski; place and date not given: "What's Next With the Special Turnover Law? Arms Trade Is Not Like Selling Lettuce"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *For 45 years after the end of the Second World War the arms trade was supervised by the Central Board of Engineering [CZI] at what was then the Ministry of Foreign Trade. It was regulated by resolutions passed arbitrarily by the Council of Ministers that generally did not have any legal basis. Moreover, the so-called special turnover was a closely guarded secret. Nobody disputed or disagreed with that because nobody could. The issue was crudely settled only a few months ago. CZI was dissolved and replaced with the Special Turnover Department at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation [MWGzZ]. The department has a legal status and is the minister's executive unit for issuing licenses and permits for trading arms on his behalf. A draft law on special foreign turnover has been developed to settle the very delicate matter legally.*

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[Golawski] MWGzZ claims now things will turn for the better. Why are we settling the issue this late and why with a law?

[Wasilewski] You cannot say there was a complete legal vacuum until now. There are other regulations, which remain effective until the law is definitely passed. The law on economic activity provides for the necessity of obtaining a license for the foreign trade of goods and services specified in an ordinance issued by the minister of foreign economic cooperation. The list includes arms and ammunition. The customs law also provides for the necessity of obtaining permission each time goods requiring a license are imported or exported. Such a law is undoubtedly needed. The reform of the system we are going through requires settling certain issues in a civilized way on a very high level. This can longer be done secretly, in hiding. We want to provide everyone who wants to take up arms trade to get acquainted with the conditions and either accept them or give up the game. Licenses are also needed to open and run pharmacies or security agencies. The arms trade is more specific. It was the topic of consultations with EU representatives. They wanted to know how this issue was regulated in Poland and other states of the former Warsaw Pact. They also had their scandals. We are trying to make our laws more uniform. This is why it might seem overly cautious.

[Golawski] Will the new law accelerate our EU and NATO membership?

[Wasilewski] I can only say that passing it will certainly not harm us, but it can help us a lot. It is, after all, one of the elements of normalizing our law and adopting international standards. Such regulations exist everywhere, not only in NATO, but also in the neutral Switzerland. A similar law was amended two or three years ago in Belgium.

[Golawski] MWGzZ officers worked on the draft for over a year. Did they model it after Western solutions?

[Wasilewski] We looked at various laws, but we are not "importing" any revolution. We did not find anything earth-shattering. It turns out that one principle prevails in the world. Licenses or permits for trading arms are issued only to companies which the state can trust.

[Golawski] What does the draft specifically say? Does it provide for private arms trade?

[Wasilewski] The draft law on foreign arms trade defines the principles of trading weapons, ammunition, and explosive materials—traditionally military goods, technologies, and services that have special meaning for the defense, security, and other top priority state interests. The "lack of clear divisions" is intended so as to provide the state with a means of rationing all goods that are important from the point of view of those interests. Also those that will appear in the process of technological advancement. It pertains specifically to arms exports, imports, and transits as well as entering agreements on sales and purchases of munitions by Polish companies both domestically and abroad. The third category provided for by the draft are services related to special turnover rendered by Polish companies to foreign companies and the other way around. Apart from registering the companies, that is granting them a quasi-license for trading arms, preliminary approval for entering talks with foreign partners will be required. There have been certain operations we would have never allowed had we known about them! Imports, exports, and transits of arms and ammunition by individual persons for their private needs are regulated by a separate act: the law on arms, ammunition, and explosives. A draft amendment that has been recently developed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs is to be announced soon.

[Golawski] So we have the draft. What next?

[Wasilewski] The draft has already been reviewed and approved by the Socioeconomic Council of the Council of Ministers and is to be presented to the legal commission at the Office of the Council of Ministers. Once the Council of Ministers approves it, it will be passed on to the Sejm and, hopefully, voted on as a top priority. It will become effective after a six-month legal holiday early next year, and we are already prepared for that. We have developed draft executive acts to accompany this law.

[Golawski] Together with a list of countries on which there is an arms export embargo?

[Wasilewski] Only the Council of Ministers can impose an embargo, not an individual minister. Trading arms is not like selling lettuce. Certain agreements have to be reached jointly by the entire cabinet; therefore, restrictions and embargoes will never be provided for in the law. Immediate action sometimes has to be taken, for instance in response to international developments. And we all know how long legal procedures can take. The draft law thus delegates the authority to impose prohibitions and restrictions to the Council of Ministers. Such decisions may have to be reached in observance of our international agreements. UN embargoes are a good example. The Council of Ministers is to clarify the issue in a separate ordinance which will be published in the Legal Gazette.

[Golawski] Therefore, is it true that anyone who enters the arms trade business has to take into account that the state may prohibit him from doing something?

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[Wasilewski] Yes, without even having to explain the reasons. After all, we are talking about regulating interests of the entire state: defense, security, foreign policy, and interests of the arms industry. When examining the legal solutions applied in the West, we were struck by the secrecy with which issuing permits for certain transactions are refused. Let us imagine, for example, that the state administration learned from unofficial sources that one of the parties in a deal is not trustworthy or honest. Not wanting to disclose its sources...it refuses to issue a license without stating the reasons. This is probably what we shall do as well. The arms trade has to be constantly inspected and controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, MWGzZ, and representatives of the arms industry.

[Golawski] But that is so difficult to keep under control!

[Wasilewski] Yes, but we finally have a basis for intervention—I am talking about the new draft law. We did not have anything of the sort thus far. The new law places both the arms dealers and the state administration under certain obligations. It also provides a tool for executing the law, just like the penal code or traffic regulations. This does not mean everyone will observe them. It is very good that this will be a law and not a secret resolution. Once the law is passed, all those interested will take the time to read it and consider the potential consequences of their operations. They will be fully aware of the risks of penal sanctions.

[Golawski] What are those sanctions to be?

[Wasilewski] Very strict: up to five years of prison and a fine of up to 5 million zlotys. New zlotys! Time will show whether the highest sentences will be passed. Yet you may remember sanctions the U.S. law provided for those involved in the rifle affair.

[Golawski] Thank you for the interview.

Foreign Ministry Official on Jewish Relations

LD0408140895 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0615 GMT 4 Aug 95

[Studio interview with Krzysztof Sliwinski, plenipotentiary of the minister of foreign affairs for contacts with the Jewish diaspora, by an unidentified correspondent—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Guest of Radio Zet is Mr. Krzysztof Sliwinski, the plenipotentiary of the minister of foreign affairs for contacts with the Jewish diaspora. Good morning.

[Sliwinski] Good morning.

[Correspondent] What is the diaspora?

[Sliwinska] The diaspora is the great community of Jews dispersed throughout almost all the countries of the world, but in great measure concentrated in western Europe at the moment, and above all in the United States. [passage omitted]

We might add that this diaspora in its overwhelming part has roots in Poland or on Polish lands, remembering that in the 18th century, until the partitions, three-quarters of the Jews living in the entire world lived on Polish lands.

[Correspondent] You will be concerned with Jews residing in Poland?

[Sliwinski] No, not at all. With the diaspora. The full name is plenipotentiary of the minister for contacts with the Jewish diaspora in the world. [Words indistinct] since the task set before me relates to that range of tasks which stands before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nonetheless. Of course, this also in certain measure means contacts with Jews residing in Poland—but above all, in the world.

[Correspondent] How many Jews are there in Poland?

[Sliwinski] It is horribly difficult to reply to this, since the justifiably or correctly difficult issue of saying who is a Jew depends upon people, above all. Of Jews who feel themselves to be Jews, have some association with a religious community, and are universally felt to be Jews, there are a few thousand, perhaps a few tens of thousands or so in Poland at the moment.

[Correspondent] From what I know, there are more Germans in Poland. Why has Minister Bartoszewski appointed a plenipotentiary for contacts with the Jewish diaspora?

[Sliwinski] For important reasons because bad Polish-Jewish relations—and, as I say, the greater number of Jews in the world live neither in Israel nor in Poland—rebound badly, often badly—this has been seen both in recent weeks and in recent years—on the possibilities of the realization of the aims of Polish foreign policy.

[Correspondent] In your view, these contacts are bad?

[Sliwinski] Polish-Jewish relations are bad.

[Correspondent] Why?

[Sliwinski] They are bad for various, deep, historical reasons. But I would first say that this is associated with an extraordinarily strong emotional tension. I cannot, for instance, say that they are quite simply bad on average—only that this is to be seen in this kind of perspective of love and hatred. As I say, very many Jewish families have their roots in this land; and the tragic stage of the extermination of the European Jews

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in great measure took place on this land. From history, Polish experience, it also happened that, as for instance in the Communist Party before the war, there were very many Jews—which does not at all, God help me, mean that the Jews were Communists, for there were several million of them—but in light of this, in what sense is there a link in the social consciousness between the introduction of communism, which was judged as bad, with the presence of Jews in power somewhere or another?

[Correspondent] But these are the kinds of historical reasons...

[Sliwinski, interrupting] And this causes, yes, yes, these awful tensions. Now, in normal years these tensions would be borne, and years have passed since these events, but meanwhile, there came the year 1967, when Poland broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, and the year 1968, when in addition, the greater number of Jews who were still then residing in Poland were in fact forced to emigrate; and in light of this, for almost 20-30 years, there was nothing like normal relations. In light of this, there is also this certain kind of anachronism that matters which really relate to what took place 30 years ago remain in the living consciousness—and badly so, and sometimes disturb, fester, sometimes bleed.

[Correspondent] And how would you judge relations in the 1980's and the 1990's?

[Sliwinski] Well, in recent years, a complete breakthrough has taken place.

[Correspondent] Meaning?

[Sliwinski] That means that lots of things have happened that have completely changed the situation.

[Correspondent] What things?

[Sliwinski] From the establishment of diplomatic relations, which is this kind of external possibility—but above all this country has become a democratic country, and only in a democratic country do the mechanisms that allow conflicts to be discharged, solved, really exist. There were lots of social initiatives, from the creation of the Polish-Israeli Friendship Society, which also concerns itself with Jews in the diaspora; through the development of the most varied Jewish organizations and associations as well; through the fact that freedom at the universities has permitted—last year for instance—the writing of 80 masters theses and 10 doctoral theses on the subject of the history of the Polish Jews—for this entire page of history has been passed over in silence. In the course of a year, which is something hard to imagine, there are published around 500 publications on Jewish subjects, or the history of the Jews, some of these works very worthwhile ones. There are however important church initiatives.

[Correspondent] What initiatives?

[Sliwinski] Above all, this is the activity of the Episcopate's Commission for Dialogue with Judaism. An impulse as it were flowing from the Second Vatican Council inclines Christians, Catholics, to look in the direction of their roots in Israel, their elder brothers. And this dialogue on the plane of religion is being maintained. But, for instance, there are courses for seminarians. Knowledge on the subject of the bible is developed. There are a whole series, even, of these events where there are common prayers in the course of the great holy days or, for many years now, prayers in Catholic churches—for instance on the anniversary of tragic events such as the Rising in the Warsaw Ghetto.

And so, there are social initiatives. There are religious initiatives. There are, naturally, state intiatives: important visits, personal meetings between various personalities. This is an altogether different quality than with starting off from scratch.

[Correspondent] Are Poles anti-Semites?

[Sliwinski] Anti-Semitism exists in Poland. To the question of whether Poles are anti-Semites, it is of course necesary to say no, because there is a variety of varied stances. And this kind of stereotype—that Poles are anti-Semites—is with certainty both hurtful and false. On the other hand, that there is an[illegible]-Semitism in Poland is not subject to doubt, and in addition to that, the law perhaps to a lesser extent, but custom admits the manifestation of attitudes generally deemed to be anti-Semitic. I would also perhaps say the following: Poland is a democratic country, but a bit like America was 60 years ago. That was undoubtedly a democracy. There was a free press and elections, and, at the same time, there was anti-Semitism in practice at the universities. And as to their relation to blacks, let us not remind the poor Americans of that, or speak of it.

Now, in democratic societies, democracy develops, and when democracy develops, that which is admissable also changes.

[Correspondent] And what is the cause of Polish anti-Semitism?

[Sliwinski] A million things. I would say that the most threatening is mythology. That means that Polish anti-Semitism in its most threatening manifestations or statements does not relate to the real Jew. And every anti-Semite will say that he has a Jew who is a friend, many anti-Semites do indeed not have anything against Jews living in frock coats and isolated from society or

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else walking to the synagogue. On the other hand, it seems to me that it is necessary to say, clearly and always, that the year 1968 was a manifestation of anti-Semitism, but also of anti-intelligentsia attitudes. After all, it was as much directed against the universities. We, here, remember slogans like: Writers back to their pens, students back to their books. And very often, anti-Semitism is a kind of pretext, a protest—I would say—against a certain kind of nonetheless Polish culture.

[Correspondent] Is Monsignor Henryk Jankowski an anti-Semite?

[Sliwinski] Monsignor Henryk Jankowski, unfortunately, expressed himself in a way...[rephrases] that is, he expressed words that undoubtedly are a manifestation of anti-Semitism. At the same time, I wish to say that it seems to me that Monsignor Henryk Jankowski is, apart from that, a bold and self-sacrificing man, and undoubtedly at a very difficult moment, and let us pray that it will not be repeated. One could surely turn to Father Jankowski with a request for him to assist, or—but as it happened, in the course of the Second World War [sentence as heard]. The anti-Semitism of Father Jankowski, the anti-Semtism of the statements by Father Jankowski, it seems to me, was clearly not addressed toward the Jews, but only toward the mythologised Jew, certain political groups...

[Correspondent, interrupting] And what groups are these?

[Sliwinski, interrupting] ...which, unfortunately, so as to say that you do not like somebody in political terms, in Poland some people are called Jews. This is meant to be an insult. This never (?arises) in a normal situation—saying that someone, a French grandmother or a Jewish grandmother, ought to be like having a Swedish grandmother. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] And what are the consequences of this statement?

[Sliwinski] These consequences are as follows: First, in moral terms, they are hurtful. Everyone has a right to a good name and Poles have the right to a good name, and Jews too. History is painful, so the wound is all the more painful. On the other hand, however, of course, since these kinds of statements correspond to the stereotype often reigning in the world, unfortunately, on the subject of Polish anti-Semitism, they thus strengthen this stereotype and are themselves strengthened by this stereotype—and they threaten the interests of Poland, and also the interests of Polish foreign policy.

[Correspondent] You are the plenipotentiary of the minister of foreign affairs for contacts with the Jewish diaspora. Is it true that Minister Bartoszewski requested Prime Minister Oleksy to give you the post of an ambassador ad personam?

[Sliwinski] I know about this in general terms, yes, since there were reports about this, but it is not possible for me to comment upon this. The post of ambassador is a great privilege and personal distinction as well, so I cannot say.

[Correspondent] But did Minister Bartoszewski address Prime Minister Oleksi with such a request, for such a nomination?

[Sliwinski] Yes.

[Correspondent] And why did you not receive such a nomination?

[Sliwinski] That is precisely what I cannot say: I am not worthy. Maybe I am not worthy, not worthy yet; there is no deadline or possibility. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] And what is the difference between such a post of ambassador ad personam and the post which you have at the moment [word indistinct]?

[Sliwinski] These are two different orders of things. An ambassador ad personam has a very high rank in the diplomatic service. In the Polish diplomatic service and the foreign service the post of senior adviser to the minister of foreign affairs is also a high-ranking post, albeit a rung lower. On the other hand, the function of plenipotentiary of the minister may in both cases be fulfilled with identical, in any case, enthusiasm as regards my person. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] To fulfill this mission, of improving Polish-Jewish contacts, were you an ambassador in [word indistinct]?

[Sliwinski] Could you [words indistinct] such a question?

[Correspondent] How do you judge the work of the Council for Polish-Jewish Relations attached to the President?

[Sliwinski] This is a very special institution. This council is above all a body gathering together authorities, very important figures here. And in that sense, it is an important, important institution.

[Correspondent] But three people have resigned from this council.

[Sliwinski] Yes, yes. But these are, rather, the internal matters of the council. Perhaps it is difficult to imagine that in practice the council, as so very important a body or organisation, or this institution, could do much other than issuing important statements.

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[Correspondent] I know what the tasks of this council are, but how do you judge its activity?

[Sliwinski] The council did...[rephrases], the council was a very important signal, the creation of this council was a very important signal. On the other hand, it is difficult for me to evaluate this activity. It could doubtless have functioned better—of which fact the members of this council are aware. On the other hand, it was undoubtedly one of the elements making up the signal to the world and to reality that these Polish-Jewish relations are an important matter and that we are determined to act in the direction of their improvement.

[Correspondent] Do you travel to Israel often?

[Sliwinski] Once in my life, so far.

[Correspondent] How long for?

[Sliwinski] That was a very particular visit, since this was the visit of Minister Bartoszewskii to Israel, an official visit. I was a member of the delegation and in the light of that, the country is then seen through meetings with the prime minister, president, great personalities, in parliament. On the other hand, it was exceptionally important that the visit of Wladyslaw Bartoszewski is something special, not only as a minister in that country, since he is, at the moment a little bit of a symbol, but also really a person who represents the best tradition of that which exists, which was, in Polish-Jewish relations. Regarding which, since you asked me before about rank, for me the greatest distinction is of course the fact that not only did the current minister of foreign affairs entrust me with this mission, but that Wladyslaw Bartoszewski wished to show me such trust and to entrust this mission to me.

[Correspondent] As the plenipotentiary of the minister for contacts with the diaspora, have you yet met with the ambassador of Israel in Poland?

[Sliwinskii] No, so far not yet. Diplomats meet, there is this habit, meet with higher officials or functionaries of the foreign services at their request. Now it is August. Nonetheless, we have the holidays, so it is not appropriate to expect many such meetings.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much for the interview.

IMF Asked To Reduce Allocated Credit

LD0408192495 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Poland has asked the IMF to reduce the credit allocated to Poland a year ago to help strengthen foreign currency reserves. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the National Bank of Poland, and Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister, sent a letter to this effect to IMF Executive Director Michel Camdessus today.

The Central Bank and the Finance Ministry decided that the large increase in foreign currency reserves—they grew by $4.5 million in the first half-year alone—allows us not to take up the IMF loan. The agreement with the IMF provides for us to borrow just under $1 billion in the period August 1994 to February 1996 to strengthen the state's foreign currency reserves. We earmarked more than $400 million of this sum, as agreed, to pay off part of our debt to the London Club. We have almost $600 million of the loan remaining. Poland has to pay large sums for the readiness to receive this money; since there is no justification for a further takeup of the loan, the heads of the National Bank and the Finance Ministry have asked the IMF to reduce the sum not taken up to $50 million.

The IMF Executive Council will respond to our proposal within six weeks.

Mass Privatization Project Enters New Phase

WS0308144395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Artur Morka: "The PPP Is Out of the Bag"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *It became officially known yesterday that every adult Pole can become a co-owner of Foton, Stilon Gorzow, the Kowary carpet factory, the Tymbark juice producer in the Podhale region, and 409 other companies.*

On 22 November the General Savings Bank-National Bank is expected to begin selling share certificates of the National Investment Funds [NFI] which supervise 413 companies included in the Mass Privatization Project [PPP]. Unofficial sources claim the price of one share will be 30-40 new zlotys. Approximately one year later we will be able to exchange the certificates for shares and trade them on the stock exchange.

Allocation—the distribution of companies among the particular NFI's—was carried out in two stages. First, the funds selected companies in which they wanted to hold majority stakes. For two weeks afterwards they were allowed to swap the companies among themselves. That stage was completed yesterday.

Practically speaking, not much changed over the last two weeks, even though there were many swap offers. In the end, only two NFI's exchanged companies— NFI No. 7 bartered the Toral SA fruit processing plant in Torun for Ariadna SA in Lodz with NFI No. 13.

The Privatization Ministry yesterday published the official list of how the PPP companies were distributed.

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The completion of the distribution process means that the time for real work has come for the NFI's. They will now have to compete for our support. "We have already set a timetable of meetings with representatives of the companies we selected," we learned from Georg Strozynski, president of Trinity Management, the company in charge of NFI No. 3. "Our companies will start bringing profits this year, and five of them even stand a strong chance of entering the stock exchange," said Strozynski proudly.

	Percent
Distribution of shares in companies within PPP State Treasury	25
Leading NFI's	33
Remaining NFI's	27
Employees	15

Dangers in Full Zloty Convertibility Noted

95EP0147A Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 19

[Interview with Pawel Durjasz, deputy director of the Department of Analysis and Research of the National Bank of Poland, by Jacek Ramotowski; date and place not given: "NBP: Caution! From Partial to Full Convertibility of the Zloty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Full convertibility, that is total abolition of restrictions on the influx and departure of capital, benefits the economy but may also entail many perils," Pawel Durjasz told NOWA EUROPA.

[Ramotowski] As of 1 June, when partial convertibility of the zloty was declared, we are halfway on the road to full convertibility....

[Durjasz] We went even farther in liberalizing the foreign exchange system. For a long time now, Poland has been open to the influx of both short-term and long-term capital invested by nonresidents, and this, combined with the declaration on the abolition of foreign-exchange restrictions on current transactions, means that, in principle, restrictions now apply chiefly to the departure of capital from this country. But they do not apply to foreign nationals, who can repatriate invested capital and profits. The process of capital influx continues and is growing stronger, yielding—in the case of short-term capital—relatively many advantages and few disadvantages; it makes possible technology transfers and raising commercial credit, which affect favorably the growth of foreign trade, and it serves to overcome the barrier of scarce domestic savings and accelerate economic growth. On the other hand, however, the influx of such desirable capital may, if it occurs on a relatively large scale, complicate monetary policy.

[Ramotowski] The influx of short-term capital is causing many problems, owing to the speculation in short-term securities.

[Durjasz] The possibility of the purchase of short-term Treasury securities by foreign investors and the free repatriation of the related profits were introduced two years ago. At that time, any considerable interest of speculators in these instruments had not been envisaged, and the interests of the state budget were considered above all. That decision was taken with the object of assuring the financing of the budget deficit and reducing the need to purchase Treasury securities by Polish banks, so as to enable these banks to have more money for lending to businesses. It turned out quite soon, however, that the interest shown by nonresidents in Polish Treasury short-term securities may make it more difficult for the central bank (the National Bank of Poland, or NBP) to pursue its monetary policy and maintain control over interest rates and the liquidity of the banking system. A similar problem was experienced in the past by OECD countries, such as Finland and Norway.

[Ramotowski] Is the capital influx also causing an excessively rapid growth of foreign-exchange reserves, which affects the inflation rate?

[Durjasz] It was not the influx of capital invested in Treasury zloty securities that has caused the rapid growth of foreign-exchange reserves last year and in the last few months. The principal causes were the current transactions relating to payments for goods and services, as well as to transfers. It was foreign trade, and especially cross-border trade, as well as the purchases made by foreign tourists in Poland, that accounted for a surplus of more than $3 billion in foreign-exchange reserves last year. The official balance of payments [excluding unofficial cross-border trade] improved by about $1.5 billion. Were the unregistered export surplus, so far reflected in the category of short-term capital in Poland's balance of payments—the net purchases of convertible currencies by the banking system—to be correctly included in the category of current transactions, it would turn out that, instead of a deficit, it is a surplus balance, owing to which foreign-exchange reserves are rapidly rising. Purchases of zloty securities by foreigners are motivated chiefly not by the high interest rate these instruments bear, as is sometimes

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suggested, but by the desire to speculate in currency exchange rates.

[Ramotowski] The outcome of the decision to liberalize trading in treasury bills illustrates how unpredictable is eventual market behavior in the course of the abolition of [foreign-exchange] restrictions. Do there exist models of liberalization on which Poland, in its endeavor to abolish restrictions, could pattern itself?

[Durjasz] There are numerous examples of both positive and mistaken decisions taken in other countries whose economic situation is not necessarily similar to that of Poland's. The process of abolishing foreign-exchange restrictions took more than 30 years in most of the developed market economies and it was only in the early 1980s that it became markedly accelerated. There is no single model or pattern that can be emulated when taking decisions to abolish restrictions on capital flow in Poland. Caution in decisionmaking is also needed in view of the prospects for Poland's assumption of international obligations vis-a-vis, e.g., the OECD or the European Union. Once these obligations are assumed and prove to be unfavorable to the macroeconomic situation, then their eventual renunciation may markedly damage the country's image and credibility. Any restoration or introduction of new restrictions would immediately make investors more wary. Hence also, although in Poland this is not yet a major problem, the destabilizing potential of short-term flows of speculative capital should not be disregarded. In this respect, most countries have applied (and some still do) direct restrictions or indirect instruments raising the cost of speculation, such as taxation or mandatory deposits. On the other hand, the world financial market is exerting pressure in favor of accelerating deregulation processes, if only by means of creating instruments serving to bypass the existing restrictions anyway.

[Ramotowski] What are the other perils harbored in the process of liberalization?

[Durjasz] The freedom of capital flow complicates the pursuit of monetary policy. Simultaneous control of the currency exchange rate and the levels of interest rates is becoming practically impossible. If the central bank wants to control the currency exchange rate, it must reconcile itself to changes in interest rates that do not mesh with its preferences. In its turn, the pursuit of a proactive policy on interest rate necessitates liberalizing the currency exchange rate. There also exist other perils, entailed in the possibility of flight of capital, transmission of destabilizing factors, or the shallowness of domestic financial markets and the weaknesses of the domestic banking system.

[Ramotowski] The NBP's decision last May to liberalize the currency exchange rate indicates that the bank prefers to control interest rates rather than the currency rate. Does this concern halting the decline in the interest rates paid on bank deposits in the presence of an inflation that refuses to decline?

[Durjasz] There is no need to pose this question in such extreme terms. The extent of controls over capital transactions is still considerable. The currency exchange rate was liberalized, but not floated completely. The central bank employs an ensemble of instruments to this end. Please also consider that the liberalization of the currency exchange rate was followed by a decline in interest rates. Besides, the NBP is able to intervene whenever, e.g., the fluctuations in the currency exchange rate become excessive.

[Ramotowski] Despite the attendant perils, Poland's aspiration to membership in the OECD and to admission to the European Union will render full convertibility of the zloty imperative. How can the perils be reduced to a minimum?

[Durjasz] It is necessary to reduce inflation and balance the budget. This means a need for economic stability and convincing the public correspondingly, which entails, among other things, a reform of public finance and of the insurance system. The rise of the global financial market and the appearance in the last few years of new and highly complex instruments, along with the faster transactions and faster flow of capital, pose to the Polish financial system challenges which it must cope with. A prerequisite for deregulating capital transactions should also be, in the process of the formation of domestic prices, the elimination of the distortions caused by, e.g., the application of subsidies or the restrictions on foreign competition. Likewise, the Polish legal system, e.g., the binding laws on foreign exchange, is relatively inflexible and prevents the central bank from reacting as rapidly as necessary in the modern world of finance. Example: the recently discussed need to revise the obligation of resale of foreign exchange, a revision that is difficult to accomplish rapidly, because it requires amending the Foreign Exchange Law. The process of joining the European Union and the OECD requires the liberalization of capital flow, but, on the other hand, it strengthens the credibility of a country joining these structures and disciplines its economic policy. It is this credibility and the disciplining of macroeconomic policy that serve to eliminate the causes of the flight of capital.

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Federal

UN Envoy Warns of 'Dangerous Armed Escalation'

LD0608191195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] New York, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—Dragomir Djokic, head of the mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the United Nations, today warned the Security Council chairman, Indonesian Ambassador Nugroho Wisnu Murti, that the latest aggression by Croatia against the Republic of Serb Krajina may lead to a dangerous armed escalation.

The letter to the Security Council chairman calls on the Security Council to take all the necessary measures without delay and in line with the UN Charter in order to halt the Croatian aggression and genocide against the Serb nation in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The letter also demands that the Croatian troops withdraw immediately and that the consequences of the aggression be removed; the Security Council should also make efforts for the resumption of negotiations which are the only way to find a permanent political solution.

Envoy in Zagreb Recalled for 'Consultations'

LD0608171795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned from informed sources at the federal Foreign Ministry that Veljko Knezevic, head of the office of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has been recalled to Belgrade for consultations about the situation following Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Government Assails Croatia, 'Accomplices'

LD0608182895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's extraordinary session, presided over by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the Federal Government examined the development of the situation following Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina, and concluded the following:

The Federal Government notes that despite energetic condemnation by many countries and international forums, Croatia is continuing unobstructed its ruthless and brutal aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina. Towns and villages on the territory under attack are being mercilessly shelled with many casualties and extensive destruction.

The fact that the aggressor army is targeting with its artillery and air force long columns of refugees is the bloodiest confirmation of one of the primary objectives of the aggression—to inflict substantial losses among the civilian population and expel it from the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Federal Government expresses its concern over increasingly frequent and convincing information that some of the big powers, members of the UN Security Council, are encouraging Croatia's aggression and are preventing the passing of Security Council resolutions to halt the aggression. By doing so, certain international factors are becoming accomplices in the ethnic cleansing of the Serb people from the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Federal Government expresses profound dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of the international community in halting the Croatian aggression, which can lead to undesirable consequences in the political, security, and humanitarian domains in the region.

The Federal Government expects the international community, particularly the Security Council, proceeding from Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, immediately to take decisive measures to halt the aggression and the killing of the innocent civilian population, to prevent ethnic cleansing, and to ensure that the Croatian Armed Forces withdraw to the separation lines established by the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

The Federal Government again stresses that the peace settlement, through negotiations and political agreement, is the only way to resolve the entire Yugoslav crisis, including the situation created by the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Bearing in mind reactions by the most important international players which are disproportionate to the scale of the aggression, the Federal Government has tasked its relevant bodies with strengthening political, diplomatic, and information activities, so that the international community should make adequate decisions and in with providing complete information on Croatia's policies which represent the biggest danger for peace and stability in the Balkans.

The Federal Government has focused particular attention to the dramatic humanitarian situation. The exodus of tens of thousands of refugees, the infirm, the elderly, women and children, requires energetic and urgent measures by the federal government's headquarters for the collection of humanitarian aid.

The Federal Government's headquarters will secure continuous cooperation with all important international humanitarian organizations, particularly with the UNHCR and ICRC. Insufficient quantities of humanitarian aid have already been delivered to the threatened areas.

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In order to provide more regular deliveries of humanitarian aid the Security Council Sanctions Committee is expected to grant its consent for humanitarian flights to Banja Luka airport.

The federal and republican governments, in cooperation with republican commissioners for refugees and the federal and republican Red Cross organizations, will make maximum efforts to collect and deliver humanitarian aid to refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina who have been accommodated in Banja Luka, and to dispatch humanitarian aid to separate columns of refugees.

The Federal Government is working around the clock in order to satisfy in a more effective way all humanitarian needs of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina, the statement by the Federal Secretariat for Information says in conclusion.

Ministry Demands Croatian Withdrawal From Krajina

LD0508200795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—The ambassadors and charges d'affaires of UN Security Council member states, the chairing country of the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, were informed in separate talks at the Foreign Ministry today about Yugoslavia's position on Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina and its political and humanitarian consequences.

The Foreign Ministry said that the UN Security Council should immediately adopt a resolution condemning Croatia's aggression and its deliberate shelling of civilian targets. This resolution should resolutely demand of Croatia, under the threat of efficient sanctions, to immediately withdraw its armed forces and police units from the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which is under UN protection, the Foreign Ministry statement said.

Opposition Parties Condemn Attacks on RSK

LD0408184495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 4 (TANJUG)—All Serbian and Montenegrin opposition parties on Friday sharply condemned Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and called on the international community to immediately put an end to it.

The Serbian renewal movement insists that the "contact group" members and the UN Security Council should attribute prime importance to the fact that Serb Krajina has accepted the Z-4 peace plan.

The party said that in accordance with this, the Vance plan and the relevant Security Council resolutions, the Contact Group and the UN Security Council should use all means to immediately stop the Croatian aggression on Serb Krajina.

The Democratic Party said that the Serb people were in jeopardy and that Croatia had violated all UN Security Council resolutions by attacking UN-protected Serb Krajina.

The Serbian Radical Party "Nikola Pasic" said that Croatia's attack on Serb Krajina was tantamount to an attack on the entire Serb nation.

President of the Democratic Party of Serbia Vojislav Kostunica said that Croatia's massive attack, first on the Bosnian Serb Republic and then on the Republic of Serb Krajina, had confirmed its determination to use military means to realize its aspirations to create a state, which started with its forcible secession in 1991.

President of the National Party of Montenegro Novak Kilibarda said that if Serb Krajina fell, an all-out Muslim-Croat attack on the Bosnian Serb Republic would follow, while the Liberal Union of Montenegro said that innocent people were being killed again.

The Serbian Civic Alliance said that talks were the only way to realize the Z-4 proposal and called on the international community to press Croatia to stop its military operations and to bring the warring sides back to the negotiating table.

Witness: Belgrade Building Up Border Defenses

AU0608204295 Paris AFP in English 2037 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 6 (AFP)—Belgrade has been reinforcing military defences along its borders with Croatia and Bosnia over the past few days, sources in Belgrade said Sunday [6 August].

At the same time, the army of the rump Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, has carried out a "selective" mobilisation of reserve troops from specialised and elite units, one well informed source said.

On Saturday night, a column of armoured troop transport vehicles and other military vehicles have left the barracks of Banjica in Belgrade, headed for the Croatian border, one witness told AFP.

Meanwhile, dozens of missile-launching trucks spotted around 90 kilometres (56 miles) north of Belgrade were

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moving to the border between rump Yugoslavia and eastern Croatia, a zone controlled by secessionist Serbs.

Each vehicle, with caterpillar tracks, carries a three-metre (10-foot) missile, according to an independent local journalist in the region.

The final destination of these convoys was not clear Sunday.

The moves follow the defeat of the secessionist Krajina Serbs, whose stronghold, Knin, fell Saturday to the Croatian Army, as well as renewed tension in eastern Slavonia, in far-east Croatia, where artillery duels between the Croatian Army and local Serb forces were reported at the end of last week.

Belgrade fears that the conflict will spread to eastern Slavonia, despite assurances from the Croatian side last week that this region would not be attacked.

Travellers returning in recent days from eastern Slavonia told AFP that the sector was "riddled with weapons" and that the local population was counting on military aid from Belgrade if Croatian forces should attack.

Foreign military experts say the Yugoslav Army continues to supply logistical support to the Bosnian Serbs and occasionally troop reinforcements in violation of a pledge to halt aid to Serbs in the neighboring republic.

These experts have noted on several occasions the presence of troops from elite units of Belgrade's army, notably at Velika Kladusa, in the north of the Bihac enclave in northwest Bosnia.

At least 200 officers of the former federal Yugoslav army currently serving in the ranks of the Bosnian Serb and Croatian Serb forces are still in the pay of the Yugoslav Army, the sources added.

They said sites of antiaircraft missile batteries in Serb-controlled zones in Bosnia are integrated in an antiaircraft system whose command centre is in Belgrade.

Heavy Missiles Head West

LD0508214495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2112 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 5 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Tonight at 2100 [1900 GMT] a column of several dozens heavy missile trailers passed through Backi Petrovac near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, a BETA correspondent who saw this column reports.

Some 50 young men have been mobilized in this town over the past few days.

Tonight, shortly after 2000 [1800 GMT], a column of 35 military vehicles, including armored personnel carriers and trucks, left the Banjica barracks in the direction of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, eyewitnesses have told BETA.

Arkan Urges Men To Report

LD0408202895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (SRNA)—The Serbian Volunteers Guard of Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan today called on all Serbian volunteers in the defense of the Republic of Serb Krajina from the Croatian aggression to report immediately.

"The Serb people are once again in refugee shelters, forced to flee from their homes, while the Ustasha are killing Serb children, women and the elderly, and destroying Serb cemeteries, monuments and shrines," the Serbian volunteers' guard said in a proclamation.

All those wishing to join the Serbian Volunteers Guard and embark on the defense of the Republic of Serb Krajina should report to 3 Ljutica Bogdan Street, Belgrade, or dial 668 901, 668 686 or 669 857.

'Motley Group' Volunteers

AU0708065495 Paris AFP in English 0130 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Denis Barnett]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (AFP)—The Croatian offensive that swept most of Krajina has bitten deep into the pride of some Serbians in Yugoslavia who are ashamed at their country's inaction and are forming volunteer units to defend what remains of the self-declared republic.

The shells that shattered Knin's masonry have rattled Serbia's pride, and the motley group of men who gather daily at the RSK (Serb Republic of Krajina) office here have had enough.

They have answered the call to arms issued by Krajina Serb "defence minister" Milan Ninkovic, the latest in a series urging Yugoslavs to defend what remains of Krajina.

Ninkovic told the BETA news agency Sunday that registration centres had been set up for volunteers in Bijeljina, Zvornik and Bileca, Bosnian Serb towns close to the border with Yugosalvia.

The self-styled republic's president, Milan Martic, told Spain's EL PAIS newspaper last week that he was expecting 12,000 volunteers from Yugoslavia.

It is not clear, however, if Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will allow ideas of Serbian brotherhood

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to damage his chances of getting the international community to lift UN sanctions against Belgrade.

But the volunteer movement could soon by buoyed-up by the thousands of refugees streaming into Serbia at Sremska Raca, 100 kilometres (60 miles) east of Belgrade. They could add fuel to an anti-Milosevic backlash gathering pace in the Serbian capital after weekend street demonstrations.

Frustration at the apparent lack of organisation on the ground is building. "If the local authorites don't allow us to go, then I'm going to burn myself or hang myself in the street, because it is not in the Serbian tradition not to fight to help their brothers," Denic Negovan, 34, told AFP. Small, with a week-old growth of beard, and dressed in military fatigues, he had come from Kosovo, 300 kilometres (180 miles) to the south, last Wednesday.

Another volunteer, sitting with his beret folded in his hands, said he had fought in eastern Slavonia in 1991, when the town of Vukovar fell to the Serbs,- and wants to go back. "The defence of Serbia starts there, not here," the young man, who did not want to be named, said of the strip of Krajina on Serbia's northwestern border. It's very bad organisation for the volunteers who want to go there. Eight of us are waiting here. We are here ready to go but..." he shrugged, "...no organisation."

The volunteers, all veterans of the Balkan wars, admitted they had no idea where they will be sent, for how long, or by whom. Or even if they will ever get going. But the pressure to do something is growing.

"If Milosevic continues with the same policy that he has at the moment, we will have to start digging trenches in Serbia in a few days," said Gvozdenociv Dragoljub, 43, a Belgrade sculptor. "Milosevic is a traitor," he charged.

A small bearded man, he wore a denim shirt under a camouflage hat bearing the insignia of the ancient kings of Serbia. "We are not going to underestimate the Croatian Army because they are very well armed with the help of NATO," he said.

The men, some in denims, some in uniform, sat in the RSK office and brooded in a cloud of strong-smelling Drina cigarette smoke.

Negovan, the Kosovar, took occasional swigs from a bottle of slivovitz, a local plum brandy. He gave an exaggerated flutter of his hand: "Excuse me, I am nervous," he said. Later, as he spoke about his wife and four children, tears slipped freely down his face and he left the room.

Miodrag Hajduk, 33, a Belgrade electrician, said he had given up working to go to fight: "I'm doing good, I must defend my people."

A well-dressed man in his mid-twenties strode into the room later. He said he had come from Knin and wanted to go back with a fighting force. "I have come to get help from Yugoslavia," he told AFP. "Not these men," he said, looking around the small room, "but professional soldiers."

ICRC Officials Visit Bosnian Muslim Refugees

LD0508143695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 5 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 5 (TANJUG)—An International Conference of the Red Cross (ICRC) team has visited Bosnian Moslems sheltering in Yugoslavia, the Belgrade-based ICRC spokesman said Saturday.

Spokesman Josue Anselmo told TANJUG that the ICRC team had interviewed and registered 299 Moslem men and one woman aged 15-50 in the town of Uzice, western Serbia, who have taken shelter in the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

He said all refugees had arrived from the town of Zepa, eastern Bosnia, after an exhausting walk through woods and reaching Yugoslavia by swimming across the Drina River. All refugees, who were interviewed without any witnesses, stressed a correct attitude by relevant Yugoslav officials and expressed satisfaction with accommodation, he said.

Anselmo said the refugees had explained their arrival in Yugoslavia by saying they were tired of war, describing the refugees' general condition as fine.

He also said ICRC would continue to visit and, together with the Yugoslav Red Cross and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to care for the refugees as long as their status was not settled.

Serbia

Milosevic Receives Stoltenberg, Bildt

Stoltenberg Talks Viewed

LD0408171995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic received Thorvald Stoltenberg, the cochairman of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia, today. They discussed the latest developments in the territory of former Yugoslavia and efforts to resume the peace process.

It was pointed out that peace, as the first and most important goal, could be reached only by political

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means, through negotiations, and that at this moment, above all, the escalation of military clashes must be prevented, the cessation of armed hostilities secured, and conditions for the unhindered resumption of the peace process created.

President Milosevic said that the aggressive stance of Croatia, which launched an armed attack against the Republic of Serb Krajina again today, dangerously threatens to lead to the escalation of a new war, which should be roundly condemned.

It has been demonstrated, President Milosevic said in his talks with Thorvald Stoltenberg, that Croatia represents the greatest danger to peace in the Balkans. This is why our country is justified in expecting the international community to act in keeping with its own proclaimed principles and its advocacy of peace, because unless this happens all its efforts to achieve a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis will be compromised.

President Milosevic stressed that the international community should not tolerate the aggressive behavior of Croatia, above all, because there has just been a renewal of the talks on a peaceful resolution of the crisis between Knin and Zagreb, in which Knin had demonstrated a very constructive approach.

In this sense, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supports the efforts of cochairman Stoltenberg and the agreement reached at yesterday's Geneva meeting, as well as the efforts aimed at halting the armed attacks by Croatia, and it expresses the hope that this agreement will make it possible for the opposing sides to return to the negotiations and bring to an end the crisis in these areas by political means, reads the statement released by the office of President Milosevic.

Statement on Bildt Talks

LD0408173495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, today received Karl Bildt, cochairmaan of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, who has arrived in Belgrade with his assistants.

In a lengthy and sincere conversation, in which the political directors [as received] of the British and German foreign ministries also took part, an extensive exchange of views was carried out with regard to the latest developments in former Yugoslavia and the further course of the peace process.

It was concluded that the latest armed attack by Croatia on the Republic of Serb Krajina seriously threatens peace throughout the region, for which reason it is the duty of the international community to not only prevent the escalation of war, but to finally put an end to Croatia's repeated aggresive attempts to impose a military solution, which has always led to the loss of life and the suffering of innocent civilians. For this reason such a conduct must be met with the strongest condemnation on the part of the international community.

The two sides also drew attention to the need to take resolute political steps toward halting the negative developments in the region, and energetic steps to attempt to halt the escalation of the conflict, notes the statement issued by the office of Serbian President Milosevic.

Government Condemns Croatian Aggression on RSK

LD0408170495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—At an emergency session today, the Government of the Republic of Serbia most vehemently condemned the Croatian Army aggression against the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] which is taking place at the moment when maximum efforts are being made to achieve a just settlement and to end the war in a peaceful way, and when the Serb side has displayed full cooperation with regard to the course of the peace process and the resolution of the crisis in a peaceful way.

At the session presided over by Mirko Marjanovic, the government adopted a decision immediately to send emergency humanitarian aid to the people on the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, to the victims of the Croatian Army aggression, containing medicine, food, clothes, and footware.

The Serbian Government has tasked the Health Ministry and the Serbian Red Cross with setting up teams of health workers and sending them to the attacked areas of the Republic of Serb Krajina, says a statement issued by the Serbian Information Ministry.

Radical Party's Seselj Terms Milosevic 'Traitor'

LD0408195595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Aug (SRNA)—Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serb Radical Party, said in Belgrade today that the Croatian attack on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] indicates the beginning of "a total, large-scale war."

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"The greatest traitor of the Serb nation, Slobodan Milosevic, is blocking the defense of the RSK, but this time Serb forces should attack and capture Osijek," Seselj said at a news conference. He added that the Serbs should bomb Zagreb in response to the shelling of Knin. [passage omitted]

"The goal of the Serb Radical party is to bring down Milosevic's regime, which cannot intimidate us, and we expect that our Serb brothers will win back the Serb territories and persevere in their struggle," he said.

Socialist Party: Federation Must Help Krajina

LD0408220995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2133 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Academician Mihajlo Markovic, an official of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, said today that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] must help the people of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Markovic told the independent television Studio B that the people must not be betrayed and abandoned to defend themselves alone. "We must help them in any way we can," Markovic said.

Asked if this includes military aid, Markovic said that he does not want to go into details "but that they must be helped." [passage omitted]

RSK Belgrade Appeals for Aid to Refugees

LD0608132895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Aug (SRNA)—The Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] government office in Belgrade issued an appeal today to doctors, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, and all other medical staff of RSK origin working in Serbia to immediately report for assistance to refugees and the wounded from Krajina. [passage omitted]

UNHCR Outlines Plans

AU0608212195 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Aug 95

[Interview with Bill Toll, head of the UNHCR Belgrade office, by Nada Dragic Radosavljevic in Belgrade on 6 August—recorded; in English, with superimposed translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Radosavljevic] You have just been in contact with Banja Luka. What is the latest news about the humanitarian situation there?

[Toll] Yes, I have just spoken with my colleagues in Prijedor and Petrovac. They told me that according to the official information, there are approximately 150,000 refugees present in the area, of which approximately 30,000 have already found accommodations with relatives and families. The rest of them have not been provided for yet. There is a lot of traffic on the roads to Petrovac and other towns, which is creating certain problems in accessing certain areas.

According to the information that I have received, none of these people are walking; they are all in vehicles. There are major jams on the road to Banja Luka. As concerns the physical conditions of the refugees, it is not bad currently; however, this can change rapidly if we do not manage to secure food.

[Radosavljevic] What is the UNHCR doing to meet the demands of the refugees that are coming from Krajina?

[Toll] Belgrade is actually the best departure point for sending convoys to Banja Luka. We sent two convoys with Russian UNHCR members in charge. The convoys, besides food, also carried tents, blankets, and other necessary goods. We also sent semiprepared meals and high protein biscuits, the food usually used in such situations.

We intend to send a convoy tomorrow consisting of eight Russian trucks and five Yugoslav trucks. This convoy will also carry 90,000 liters of gasoline. Most of the refugees have their own means of transportation, and all they need is gasoline to proceed to Samac, Modrica, and other towns where they plan to find accommodations.

[Radosavljevic] We have heard that you are planing the opening of an air link?

[Toll] Yes, this has been discussed. We plan to dispatch an extremely big convoy from Belgrade, which will arrive here on Tuesday. This convoy will contain over 1,000 metric tons of food and other necessities of life. We will dispatch all this to Banja Luka immediately. It has been contemplated to perhaps send aid by air; however, transportation by land is a lot more effective because much more food can be transported. One aircraft can only carry 34 metric tonnes of food while the supply by land is far more effective. Supplying our center here in Belgrade poses no problem.

[Radosavljevic] Are you prepared to assist in the reception of a greater number of refugees who will arrive in Yugoslavia?

[Toll] I am working on the program for Bosnia; however, I know that my colleagues who work in the department for Serbia and Montenegro are well prepared to help the refugees who will arrive in Yugoslavia. Our office will help as much as it can. We have already sent

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some people to the border crossing in Raca to take stock of the current situation.

First Bus Arrives

LD0608120195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Sad, 6 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Kosovka Kravarusic, secretary of the Apatin [Vojvodina] municipal Red Cross Committee, told BETA agency today that a bus carrying refugees from Lika arrived in Apatin late last night.

Another 20 buses from the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] are on their way to Apatin and they are expected to arrive in the afternoon, she added. [passage omitted]

UNHCR: 150,000 Refugees

AU0708111295 Paris AFP in English 1105 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 7 (AFP)—Croatia's recapture of the Krajina region from Serb secessionists has triggered the largest mass exodus of the Balkans conflict, a wave of tired and hungry people that could go well over 200,000, a UN official said here Monday [7 August].

"According to the latest available information from the local authorities the number of refugees in this area has reached 150,000 people," Vladimir Tsourko of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office in this Serb-held town in northern Bosnia told AFP.

"Up to 80-90,000 more are expected to arrive in this area," he added.

His figures dwarfed an estimate given earlier in the day by a UN spokesman in Zagreb who said 80,000 Serbs have left or could still wish to leave Croatia for Serb-held territory in Bosnia.

"This is a top of the range figure," the spokesman added. He dismissed as "very inflated" reports from Serb authorities in Bosnia that some 200,000 could seek to flee the region.

Columns of refugees have snaked across central Bosnia since Croatian forces bombarded secessionist Krajina Serbs into submission in a lightning weekend attack.

At least 7,000 crossed into Serbia at the Sremsca Raca crossing point on Sunday, a Yugoslav Red Cross spokeswoman told AFP on Sunday. She added that around 100,000 people were expected to cross into Serbia in the coming days.

However, the UNHCR conceded that verifying the number of people on the move across Bosnia remains a problem.

"It's practically impossible for us to confirm these figures since most roads in this area are now blocked by columns of refugees sometimes 10-20 kilometres long," Tsourko said.

"But having visited many makeshift collective centres, camps, and just by driving along some sections of the routes we can confirm that many, many tens of thousands of refugees are moving now," he added.

"It's an unprecedented number of people in four years of war," he said.

The influx has stretched humanitarian agencies to the limit.

"We need some basic construction materials," Tsourko said, to help shelter the flood of homeless people.

"We are also supplying fuel to facilitate the movement of ambulances, and to facilitate bread and water delivery along the evacuation routes," he said.

A two-month blockade along the main supply route by Croatian authorities has taken a heavy toll of the UNHCR's reserves, according to Tsourko, but he the UN refugee agency had now taken "urgent measures to secure food from Belgrade."

"We've already received several convoys from Belgrade and we expect a huge convoy from Belgrade later today," he added..

"We are also appealing to humanitarian agencies to come to the area with the most-needed items like water containers, tents, foodstuffs and hygeinic items," he said.

Meanwhile, UNHCR spokesman Ketil Hov said the agency had so far seen no evidence to suggest that the minority Croat population in the Bosnian Serb-held city was being mistreated.

It was still to early to determine the extent of the psychological effect the influx of refugees from Krajina was having on the Croats, he said.

However, Hov told AFP that 400 Croats from the Banja Luka area crossed the Bosnian-Croatian border Sunday at Srbac. He said 500-600 more are on a waiting list to leave.

The local Serb authorities had confirmed that such a list exists, Hov said, but they said they were merely respecting the Croats' wishes.

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"These people are asking for UNHCR protection and we have demanded assurances from the Banja Luka authorities that a convoy will be organised for them," the UNHCR official said.

"The UNHCR is negotiating with the Banja Luka authorities to evacuate as soon as possible any Croats who want to leave," he said.

Authorities Ban Pro-Krajina Rally in Belgrade

AU0508192095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 5 Aug 95

[Report by Matej Surc from Belgrade]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The capital of the Krajina Serbs has been abandoned and the Krajina leadership has moved toward Lika. Martic's adviser, Jarcevic, was the first in Belgrade to confirm that the Croatian troops had captured Knin and that the biggest problem at the moment is refugees. [passage omitted]

Jarcevic assessed positively the appointment of General Mladic as coordinator of the Army of Krajina and Bosnian Serbs; however, at the same time he expressed fear that Pale did not have at its disposal a sufficient number of soldiers to provide effective help to the Krajina Serbs.

Radovan Karadzic, the new, self-styled military commander of the Bosnian Serbs, was among the first to react to the Serbian defeat in Krajina. He criticized official Belgrade for not assisting Knin and at the same time threatened to undertake revenge measures against the Croats.

So far his gunners have always shelled Sarajevo in retaliation. However, Karadzic said, on this occasion they will attack exclusively military targets. If one is to believe TANJUG, the Bosnian Serbs have launched a momentous and reportedly also successful counteroffensive on the Grahovo front. According to Serbian information coming from Vukovar, the units of the rebel Serbs in eastern Slavonia reportedly surrounded Vinkovci.

There is anger, indignation, and shame among the residents of Belgrade. Some curse Tudjman, others Milosevic; however, they do not have an opportunity to give vent to it publicly, namely, the authorities had banned a meeting that the Association of Krajina Serbs in Belgrade wanted to stage.

Radicals leader Seselj is demanding that Milosevic be hung in Terazije because he allegedly prevented a rocket attack on Zagreb.

A partial and selective mobilization of the FRY Army special forces and reserve military police, started last night, the Belgrade intellectuals claim. [passage omitted]

Demostrators Protest Position

LD0608165795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Pavle, the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, said Mass for the victims in the Republic of Serb Krajina at St. Mark's Church in Belgrade at midday today. [passage omitted]

After Mass, a large number of those attending headed toward the Federal Assembly to demonstrate against the current authorities' position on the events in Krajina. [passage omitted]

Prince Joins Angry Protest

AU0608155195 Paris AFP in English 1459 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 6 (AFP)—Traffic in central Belgrade was halted Sunday [6 August] as a thousand people marched through the city protesting the defeat of Serb forces in Krajina, the former Serb-held areas of Croatia. The protest began after hundreds poured out of a church in which Patriarch Pavle, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, had delivered a Sunday sermon.

Most Serbs remain deeply confused about the tumultous events of the last few days and with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic saying nothing, the disorientation remains all the deeper. In a packed church, several women, some from Krajina, wept with anger and grief. But far from raising a call to battle, the patriarch said, "push away your anger, leave that to the Lord, for he says 'revenge is mine.'"

As they streamed out of church though, the throngs were confronted by Prince Tomislav, a pretender to the Serbian throne. The then-Yugoslav monarchy was abolished by the communists after World War II. Hoisted shoulder high, the prince told the cheering crowd: "we must win this war...I say 'give me a gun and I will go and fight.'" Prince Tomislav then promised a restoration of the monarchy after a victorious war. The crowd responded by chanting: "Serbia Kingdom, Serbia Kingdom."

Borislav Radic, a 45-year-old travel agent and churchgoer cum demonstrator said: "people are confused. They don't know if what happened in Krajina was a real defeat or part of some deal." Much of the anger being expressed by the demonstrators was directed against Milosevic. They called him a "traitor" and an

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"Ustasha," after the name of Croatia's World War II fascist movement.

Dusanka Krtinic, 50, whose home village of Udbina was overrun on Saturday by Croatian Army forces, fought back her tears saying: "Milosevic promised us that all Serbs would live in one state and said 'Serbia will not bow.' He said he would never betray us and now look what has happened."

Demonstrators also marched through Belgrade on Saturday night, but observers said the striking thing about the protests is how small they are. In the heyday of Serbian nationalism, crowds of scores and even hundreds of thousands would gather to hear various political leaders—all of whom have been conspicuous by their absence in the past few days.

Karadzic-Mladic Dispute, RSK Collapse Viewed

AU0608173195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 95

["Excerpt" from interview with Dobrica Milicevic, editor of the "Sunday at Ten" program, by Milika Sundic in Belgrade on 6 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sundic] How come this, let me say, divergence [razmimolazenje] between Serb Republic President Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, commander of the armed forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, occurred at this particular moment?

[Milicevic] To tell you the truth, I have expected (?something of the kind), and it was inevitable because [words indistinct] General Mladic said to Karadzic that first of all, this was an unlawful decision, that he wanted (?to participate in the war until the end) and that he would not abandon the post of commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army [word indistinct]. Such a decision was passed precisely on 4 August—the day that Croatia broke into the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK].

This is part of a great international conspiracy of the superpowers against a person, who, (?although a soldier), is probably the most willing [najspremniji] to embrace negotiations and the Contact Group plan, because the soldiers know best what a war means, as opposed to the war profiteers who are strutting around Pale in suspenders and naturally harbor some interest of their own that is contrary to the interests of the Serbian people in the Serb Republic.

Some leaders in Pale evidently not only have aspirations to control the situation concerning the Serb Republic Army but also to rule in some other political territories. They evidently turned their sights also in the direction of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

It is no coincidence that they have found champions in the FRY, starting with those who are threatening to bomb the Krsko nuclear power plant, which, naturally, would not only endanger Croatia but the entire Balkans, as you know that the turbines of the Krsko nuclear power plant are being cooled by the water of the Sava, which also runs nearby Belgrade. Therefore, this would mean a great contamination of this entire region and a great catastrophe. Then there are threats that we should fire rockets that leave a 300-meter diameter on Zagreb. These are essentially warmongers but in principle great cowards. Nobody is stopping them from going to the front and fighting for the cause of the Serbian people. However, they are evidently trying to get the FRY involved in the conflict.

All who are doing this actually serve those forces that have encouraged the Muslim government in Sarajevo to wage a war against the Serb Republic Army and also the Croatian aggression against the RSK. They are actually big allies of these forces and not the friends of the Serbian people in the mother country.

[Sundic] Unfortunately, the enemies of the Serbian people are [words indistinct] a power struggle, I would say, in some regions?

[Milicevic] Yes, and this means the power struggle at all costs. A question arises here, for example, why western Slavonia fell. We know that the leadership in Knin was more preoccupied with the issues as to who should be the prime minister, the defense minister, the foreign minister, and so forth rather than with how to protect [word indistinct] in western Slavonia. This is now also the case with the events in the Serb Republic. How come Mladic, a celebrated commander, ends up being pointed at with a finger?

I would add something else here. It is characteristic that this happened following a letter that Serbian President Milosevic had sent to Alija Izetbegovic and Ratko Mladic. Milosevic evidently sent this letter to the men who were capable of making a decision on the cessation of hostilities. This evidently did not go down well with the vain Karadzic, who picked the worst possible moment to take revenge on President Milosevic, Serbia, Yugoslavia, and Ratko Mladic. I repeat once again that Ratko Mladic, although a professional soldier, is ready

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to halt the war, which would not be at the cost of the loss of the Serbian peoples' interests but to safeguard the interests of the Serbian people on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In this case, speaking of Yugoslavia, [words indistinct] the Croatian aggression, I must repeat that Yugoslavia and Serbia continue to [word indistinct], that FRY and President Milosevic are keeping their doors open for any peaceful negotiations that would accomplish a stable and lasting peace, however, [words indistinct] tolerate such acts of aggression then this actually represents attempts to prevent the FRY from playing a crucial role in the accomplishment of a lasting and stable peace.

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